CICERO
CATO MAIOR
DE
SENECTUTE

ROCKWOOD

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M. TULLI CICERONIS

CATO MAIOR

DE SENECTUTE

EDITED

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

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PREFACE.

The text of this edition of *Cicero De Senectute* is substantially that of C. F. W. Müller (Leipsic, 1879). The few deviations from his reading are stated on p. 152, and discussed in the supplementary notes. A different punctuation has been adopted in some passages, and in a few words the orthography has been corrected to conform to Brambach.

The *De Senectute* is usually given a place in the early part of the college course, when training in the reading of the Latin is imperatively needed. To assist the student in acquiring greater accuracy in pronunciation, the long vowels in the text have been marked. In this Lewis has been taken as a guide, and both his *Latin Dictionary for Schools* and his *Elementary Latin Dictionary* have been consulted. It is earnestly hoped that this feature may be welcomed by teachers, and may prove to be of practical value. It must be remembered, however, that absolute accuracy in marking quantities is out of the question.

The Introduction has been made somewhat full in order to present, in convenient form, a sketch of Cicero's life, with a brief account of what he has accomplished in literature, and more especially in philosophy. In the preparation of the sections which bear upon his standing as a philosopher and his relation to the leading schools, Mayor's admirable *Sketch of Greek Philosophy* has been very helpful.

Cicero's defense of old age is so charming in style and so interesting in subject-matter that it deserves something more by way of commentary than mere discussion of grammatical and

linguistic usage. Accordingly an attempt has been made in the illustrative notes, on the pages with the text, to give sufficient prominence to the historical and literary features of the essay, and to show by numerous quotations what ancient and modern authors have uttered like thoughts, couched in similar forms of expression. In numerous cases it will be seen that there is something more than a mere similarity of thought and expression. Without doubt many modern writers have drawn their inspiration direct from the lofty sentiments of Cicero's essay, and thus the student is introduced to a very interesting and important literary study of the great master of Latin prose. If this portion of the work shall prove suggestive and stimulating, it will accomplish its intended purpose.

In the supplementary notes a large number of grammatical references have been given, and whatever assistance seemed necessary in the translation of difficult passages, together with brief discussions of disputed readings. For convenience of reference an index to the notes and an index of proper names have been added.

In the preparation of this edition many works have been consulted. The most assistance has been received from the editions of Lemaire, Tischer, Lahmeyer, Sommerbrodt, Meissner, and Reid. My thanks are especially due to the editors of the American Book Company, who have made many valuable suggestions, and who have greatly lightened the labor of taking these pages through the press.

FRANK E. ROCKWOOD.

BUCKNELL UNIVERSITY,
December, 1894.

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

LIFE OF CICERO.

1. Introduction.—Cicero must be regarded as essentially a man of letters. Whatever strength or weakness he may have manifested in public life, he undoubtedly forms the central figure in Roman literature. His matchless style, his rich and varied learning, and his wonderful powers of application easily made him the foremost writer of Latin prose. To the student hitherto acquainted with Cicero only through his orations and letters, he is revealed in a new character in the light of his ethical and philosophical works. For a just appreciation of the latter, a brief review of the author's life and studies will be eminently helpful.

2. Early Life and Education.—Marcus Tullius Cicero was born at Arpinum in Latium, 106 B.C. His father belonged to the equestrian order and was well qualified by learning and culture to direct the training of the future orator and student of philosophy. The young Marcus, with his brother Quintus, was early taken to Rome to receive the best instruction which the capital had to offer. Among his teachers were the poet Archias, the famous lawyers of the Scaevola family, Phaedrus the Epicurean philosopher, Philo of the New Academy, Diodotus the Stoic, and Molo the rhetorician.

Cicero was especially fond of Greek literature and philosophy, and gained from these sources the elegance of expression and

wealth of illustration so abundantly displayed in his maturer works. To oratory and law he devoted himself with the utmost eagerness, both from his natural fondness for these subjects, and because he saw the possibility of winning by eloquence and skill as an advocate the leadership in Rome which others had acquired through valor and success on the field of battle. A brief experience in military affairs, however, formed part of his early training, for at the age of seventeen he served through one campaign in the Social War.

Cicero's genuine enthusiasm in his studies prompted him to tireless activity in their pursuit and to the adoption of the most thorough and practical methods known to his day. Actors, orators, rhetoricians, and philosophers were his teachers. The principles of their instruction he put in practice in declamation, debate, and composition, in both Greek and Latin. The success of his later years was no mere accident, nor was it the manifestation of brilliant genius, untrained and untaught,—it was rather the natural result of the most painstaking and persistent toil. The whole soul of the man was aglow with the fire of learning. Every opportunity to secure enlarged intellectual growth and development was eagerly seized.

In the school, the lecture-room, the courts, and the Forum he was an interested observer and an eager learner. Books and men, history and life, were the objects of his study. Whatever he acquired he tested for himself and used for the enlightenment of his fellows, always actuated by an irresistible desire to obtain the clear light of truth and to illumine others with its brightness. Like his rival for the palm of eloquence among the ancients, the renowned orator of the Greeks, he succeeded chiefly by his remarkable application to work and his untiring effort to realize a high ideal. Of the two masters of forensic speech, Cicero was the broader intellectually, while Demosthenes was more impressive as a speaker, carrying conviction ofttimes as much by the weight of his character as by the force of his words.

3. First Appearance as an Advocate. — Cicero did not yield to any boyish temptation to display his immature talents for the sake of winning temporary applause, but chose rather to bide his time and offer himself as a candidate for popular favor only after rigorous training and long-continued study. Accordingly, he was twenty-five when he appeared as an advocate in behalf of P. Quinctius, and a year older when he won great applause by his bold defense of Sex. Roscius, who had been accused of parricide by a freedman of the dictator Sulla. It was not precocity of talent, but disciplined strength and conscious power that gave him the victor's laurels at the very beginning of his career. Too intense application to literary pursuits, however, somewhat impaired his health, and consequently, in 79 B.C., he followed the advice of friends, and sought rest and recuperation in Greece and the East. While in quest of bodily strength he improved every opportunity to hear the best teachers in Athens, Rhodes, and Asia Minor; and after an absence of two years returned to Rome in renewed physical vigor, more proficient in the orator's art, and with a mind richly stored with the fruits of study and travel. All rivals in the race for fame were speedily distanced, and he became the acknowledged leader of the Roman bar, the most eloquent orator of his age.

4. Public Offices. — Public honors were heaped upon the rising advocate in generous profusion. In due order of time, he held the offices of quaestor, aedile, praetor, and consul, each at the earliest age permitted by law. His learning, eloquence, devotion to duty, personal integrity, and above all, his unbounded patriotism, ensured him marked success in every public station which he was called upon to occupy. During his consulship the liberties of Rome and the very existence of the government were jeopardized by the conspiracy of Catiline, Cicero's defeated rival for the highest honor in the gift of the citizens. But by the vigilance of the consul the plot was detected, and its full extent and purpose were made known to the senate. Many of the leaders were

arrested in the city and put to death, and Catiline himself, forced to fly for safety, was afterwards defeated and slain, while attempting to gain by open war what he had hoped to accomplish by assassination and secret plotting.

5. Cicero in Exile. — In the year 58 B.C., came the first serious blow to Cicero's hopes and ambitions. Up to this time his success had been brilliant in the extreme. Born in a provincial town, without distinguished ancestors, he had made his way by the force of his intellect and the persuasive power of his eloquence to the highest pinnacle of political renown. In return for his courage and patriotic devotion in the hour of Rome's impending danger, he had been hailed by his grateful fellow-citizens as the savior of his country. But Clodius, an unprincipled noble, enraged at Cicero for testifying against him when on trial for attending the festival of the Bona Dea at Caesar's house, secured adoption into a plebeian family for the sole purpose that he might be elected tribune and bring about Cicero's banishment. Installed in office, he obtained the passage of a law ordaining exile for any one who had ordered the death of a Roman citizen without due form of legal trial. This was aimed directly at Cicero, who had caused Lentulus, Cethegus, and others of the Catilinarian conspirators to be put to death in prison. From March, 58, to August, 57, B.C., the ex-consul dragged out a wretched existence as an exile in Greece, forbidden on pain of death to approach within five hundred miles of Rome. The calamity was severer than he could bear. Discouraged and well-nigh broken-hearted, he gave himself up to grief and bitter repining.

But at last the efforts of friends to procure his recall were successful. The homeward journey from Brundisium to Rome was one continuous ovation. From all sides the people flocked to greet him and accompany him on his way to the capital, until his final entry to the city was like the triumph of a returning conqueror. For the time, the multitude recalled with gratitude his former services, and welcomed him back with distinguished

honor to the city which he had once saved from traitors' hands.

6. Proconsul in Cilicia. — A law was passed in Pompey's third consulship restricting the government of foreign provinces to praetors and consuls who had been at least five years out of office. To fill vacancies immediately occurring, appointments were made by lot from those not debarred by the new law. To Cicero's intense disgust his name came forth from the urn for the proconsulship of Cilicia. His administration, however, was marked by the same energy and integrity that had characterized his conduct in more acceptable official positions. Though he reluctantly laid aside his studies to enter upon the less congenial duties of provincial governor, yet his course was marked with such intelligence and justice that all classes and orders coming under his rule looked upon him as an upright judge and a faithful protector of his people.

Even success in arms was added to his victories of peace, and he was hailed by his soldiers with the title of *imperator*. Encouraged by this, Cicero seemed at last to catch the true spirit of a soldier and looked with longing eyes toward that goal of every Roman general's ambition, the splendid honor of a triumph. The commendable record made by him in his new, and not altogether pleasing, field of labor, may be taken as a clear indication of his breadth of character, and as ample proof of the wonderful power there is in simple honesty of purpose and unfaltering industry to make one successful, even under the most unfavorable circumstances.

7. Position in the Civil War. — That portion of Cicero's life which immediately followed his return to Rome, in January, 49 B.C., was probably marked by more doubt and perplexity than any other period in his entire history. Certainly his course during those eventful months has given his admirers in all ages but little unalloyed satisfaction. Caesar and Pompey were contending for supremacy. Civil war with its attendant horrors

was about to break forth. Cicero's ideal was the old Republic. It was impossible for him to turn with enthusiasm and hope either to Caesar or to Pompey. The course which he adopted seems weak and vacillating because he was compelled to choose between two evils and found it exceedingly difficult to decide which was the less. He was undoubtedly mistaken in judgment on many points, and blind to the true condition of the times. He failed to realize that the former order of things had irrevocably changed, that old forms of government had lost their force, and that, unless there should be a complete regeneration of the Roman people, only the strong hand of a master could give peace and stability to the government. For a long time weak and irresolute in the face of the most distressing doubt and uncertainty, he at length cast his fortunes with Pompey, only, however, to regret his choice when he realized how vain his hope had been that this much overrated man and inefficient leader could restore the dignity of the senate and the majesty of the Republic.

After the crushing defeat of the senatorial army at Pharsalus and the subsequent flight and death of its commander, Cicero yielded to the inevitable and accepted the clemency of the conqueror, who, whatever else may be said of him, was generous to his foes. Fortunate it was for his countrymen and for us, that Cicero's patriotism was not of that narrow, rigid sort which impelled Cato of Utica to look upon death as a welcome relief from the supremacy of one man. Cicero was indeed cast in a nobler mold and fashioned of diviner stuff. He possessed more of the scholar's spirit and a larger measure of the philosopher's consolation and hope. Withdrawing from public gaze, he found solace in the contemplation of truth and inspiration in the ennobling pursuit of letters. Devoting himself in this time of political distress and confusion to the composition of his noblest works, he brought forth the ripened fruit of years of laborious study, and handed down to the scholars of all time the priceless

inheritance of his most earnest philosophical discussions and his loftiest ethical teachings.

8. Opposition to Antony. — But Cicero was not destined to close his life in the peaceful retirement of the scholar. Still stormier scenes awaited him than any through which he had yet passed. The murder of Caesar on the Ides of March, 44 B.C., was but the renewal of strife and bloodshed that were destined to end only with the founding of the new Empire. Cicero's first impulse was to seek personal safety in Greece; but though he commenced the journey, he quickly changed his course and repaired to Rome in the earnest belief that the senatorial party would ultimately prevail. The closing year of his life was filled with stirring events. He became the leader of the senate and people, and bent all his energies to the establishment of peace on a secure basis and the rehabilitation of the government on its former lines. Looking upon Antony as a dangerous foe to the state, he attacked him in those fiery invectives known as the Philippics. But the temporary success of the consuls over Antony at Mutina and the ceaseless efforts which Cicero made to strengthen the hands of the constitutional party in the city and provinces failed to revive the ancient spirit and to restore the liberties of the people.

Octavianus, at the head of his legions, forced his own election to the consulship, although but nineteen years of age, and then, uniting with Antony and Lepidus in the formation of the second triumvirate, shattered the hopes of all who had fondly dreamed that the golden age of the Republic was about to return. The current was, in fact, setting in the other direction, and a stronger arm and stouter heart than Cicero's would have been powerless before it. Complete success for the three self-appointed lords of Rome was possible only by the destruction of their personal foes and the death of every leader of the opposition. Accordingly, the proscription of Sulla was renewed, and Cicero's name was placed by Antony's command on the list of those to be destroyed.

9. Cicero's Death. — Cicero's only safety from impending fate now lay in immediate flight. Hastening from his Tusculan villa to Astura, he embarked on board a vessel bound for Macedonia, but overcome with anguish at the thought of leaving Italy forever, he ordered the ship's prow turned toward the land. Delaying for a little time at Circeii, he again set out on his journey by sea, only to yield once more to his fatal irresolution, or to his overmastering love for his native country, even though delay within its borders meant certain death. The soldiers found him at his Formian villa attended by his faithful slaves, who were vainly urging him to make a final effort to escape by sea from the hands of his bloodthirsty enemies. Overtaken by his pursuers under command of Popilius Laenas, whom he had once defended on a capital charge, Cicero met death calmly and courageously, addressing his executioner in these words, "Here, veteran! if you think it right — strike!" The orator's head and hands were carried to Antony and afterwards nailed to the rostra, the scene of his former triumphs. Antony's wife, who was, at the time of her marriage to him, the widow of Clodius, pierced the tongue of the murdered man with a bodkin, that she might show the malignity of her hate and the keenness of her delight that the tongue which had lashed with cutting satire her two base and unprincipled husbands had been forever silenced.

Thus perished Cicero, in the sixty-fourth year of his age, after a life varied by brilliant successes and overwhelming defeats, at one time the foremost man in Rome, at last hunted to death like a condemned criminal. It is equal folly either to bestow upon him unlimited praise or to subject him, as some have done, to merciless criticism. We must view him in the light of his own time, and measure him according to the standard of his own age. In this way the good in his life will be seen vastly to outweigh the evil. None can question his patriotism, his desire to aid his country and preserve what he believed to be her best traditions. His utter inability to stay the course of Caesar

in his ambitious struggle for absolute power, and his impotency in the presence of an unscrupulous tyrant like Antony, were as clearly apparent to Cicero himself as they can now be to any of his detractors.

10. Service to Literature. — But it is to his work in the realm of letters that we can turn with the greatest satisfaction. As an orator he is without a peer in the annals of Rome and second in the whole world. In literature and philosophy he has fulfilled the words of Horace, and "reared a monument more enduring than bronze, loftier than the pyramids, those moldering relics of old kings." To estimate his services to the Latin tongue would be indeed a difficult task. Subsequent writers found in him a model of elegance and good taste. If we could annihilate his influence upon Roman letters, blot his own works out of existence, and close forever their rich storehouse of history, literature, and philosophy, we might gain by way of contrast some conception of the service he rendered his age and the real value of the contribution he made to the world's literature. But in modern times we are under greatest obligation to Cicero for bringing to our knowledge, through the medium of his own works, the highest conclusions, embodied in the teachings and speculations of Greek philosophy, reached by the human intellect alone, in its attempt to determine the duty and destiny of man.

TABLE OF CICERO'S LIFE.

B.C.		AGE.
106.	Cicero was born, Jan. 3. Pompey was born in the same year.	
100.	The birth of Caesar.	6
90.	Cicero assumed the *toga virilis*, and studied law under Q. Mucius Scaevola, the Augur. Beginning of the Social War.	16
89.	Served as a soldier under Pompeius Strabo, the father of Pompey the Great.	17
88.	Heard Philo and Molo at Rome. End of the Social War.	18
86.	Death of Marius.	20
82.	Sulla made perpetual Dictator.	24
81.	Cicero appeared as an advocate in behalf of P. Quinctius.	25

B.C.		AGE.
80.	Defended Sex. Roscius in a criminal trial.	26
79.	Visited Athens. Studied philosophy under Antiochus the Academician, and Zeno and Phaedrus the Epicureans; rhetoric and oratory under Demetrius of Syria.	27
78.	Traveled in Asia Minor. Studied under Molo at Rhodes.	28
77.	Cicero returned to Rome. Married Terentia. Resumed his law practice.	29
75.	Quaestor in Sicily.	31
74.	Returned to Rome.	32
70.	Consulship of Pompey and Crassus. Cicero conducted the impeachment of Verres. Birth of Vergil.	36
69.	Cicero, Curule Aedile.	37
66.	Cicero, Praetor. He delivered his oration in favor of the Manilian Law, by which the command against Mithridates was given to Pompey.	40
65.	Cicero declined the government of a province. Birth of Horace.	41
63.	Consul, with C. Antonius. He suppressed the conspiracy of Catiline.	43
62.	Return of Pompey from the East. Cicero spoke in behalf of the poet Archias.	44
61.	Trial of Clodius.	45
60.	Caesar, Pompey, and Crassus formed the first triumvirate.	46
59.	Livy was born in 59 or 57 B.C. Caesar, Consul.	47
58.	Caesar went to Gaul as Proconsul for five years. Cicero went into exile, going first to Dyrrachium and then to Thessalonica.	48
57.	Cicero was recalled from exile by a vote of the people.	49
55.	Cicero wrote his *De Oratore*. Caesar's command in Gaul extended for five years.	51
54.	Cicero wrote the *De Republica*.	52
53.	Cicero, Augur. Defeat and death of Crassus in the East.	53
52.	Cicero defended Milo, who had been accused of the murder of Clodius. Probably wrote his *De Legibus* in this year.	54
51.	Proconsul in Cilicia.	55
49.	Returned to Rome. Civil War between Caesar and Pompey. Caesar crossed the Rubicon and advanced upon Rome.	57

B.C.		AGE.
	Pompey and his adherents fled. In June, Cicero left Italy and joined Pompey in Greece. Caesar made Dictator.	
48.	Caesar defeated Pompey at Pharsalus. Cicero, who was not present at the battle, returned to Italy. The Alexandrine War.	58
47.	Meeting and reconciliation of Caesar and Cicero at Brundisium. Cicero returned to Rome.	59
46.	Caesar's victory at Thapsus in Africa. Caesar made Dictator for ten years; in 44 B.C. for life. Cicero wrote his *Brutus* and his *Orator*.	60
45.	Cicero divorced Terentia and married a young ward named Publilia. Death of his daughter Tullia. In this year he completed several of his important works: *Academicae Quaestiones*, *De Finibus*, *Tusculanae Disputationes*. Caesar gained the battle of Munda in Spain and returned to Rome.	61
44.	Caesar was assassinated on the 15th of March. Cicero wrote his *De Natura Deorum*, *De Divinatione*, *De Officiis*, *De Senectute*, *De Amicitia*. Delivered the first, third, and fourth Philippics (the second was never delivered).	62
43.	Cicero delivered Philippics V.-XIV. Antony, Lepidus, and Octavianus formed the second triumvirate. Proscription. Murder of Cicero, by order of Antony, Dec. 7.	63

CICERO AS A PHILOSOPHER.

11. Greek Philosophy.—Among pre-Socratic philosophers the origin of the universe was the chief subject of investigation and theorizing. Thales of Miletus, who flourished about 600 B.C. and founded the Ionic school, first sought to explain the mysteries of nature in a scientific manner. Influenced, perhaps, by Homer and his account of *Oceanus*, he ascribed the origin of things to water. Various theories were advanced by his successors in their attempts to solve the same problem. Anaxi mander found the beginning of things in "indeterminate matter"; Anaximines, in "air"; and Heraclitus, in "fire." Pythagoras of Samos, who settled at Crotona in Italy in 529 B.C. and founded the Italic school of philosophy, held that the key of the universe was to be found, not in material substance, but in "number and proportion."

After a century or more of such fruitless speculation and vague discussion and theorizing, a natural reaction occurred, and the Sophists appeared upon the stage. Protesting against such profitless use of mental energy, they boldly declared their scepticism in regard to absolute truth, and sought to turn logic and philosophy to practical account in acquiring wealth and distinction for themselves. But a more important advance was made in the history of man's intellectual development by the advent in the philosophical world of Socrates (469–399 B.C.), who furnished inspiration, directly or indirectly, to all later schools of Greek thought. His appearance marked the dawn of a new era. It was his special mission to turn men's thoughts from physical to ethical truth, from the solution of the problem of the universe to the determination of man's destiny.

12. Schools of Philosophy in Cicero's Time. — In Cicero's time there were four leading schools of philosophy, the Academic, Peripatetic, Stoic, and Epicurean. The first owed its foundation to Plato, the pupil of Socrates, and received its name from the grove of Academus, where its founder lectured. In its historical development it was known successively as the Old, Middle, and New Academy. Aristotle, famous alike as the pupil of Plato and teacher of Alexander, discoursed on philosophy in the Lyceum at Athens, receiving the name of Peripatetic from his habit of walking while he lectured. But with the national decline of the Greeks and the waning influence of their religion, there was urgent need of some strong principle, or noble inspiration, to prevent men from relapsing into doubt and despondency. Zeno the Stoic, who taught in a painted porch, or *stoa*, began in 308 B.C. to proclaim the new philosophy, designed to meet this special want, and boldly asserted that man's highest duty consists in living in accordance with nature. Only a few years later, Epicurus appeared in his garden in Athens as the expounder of still another doctrine whose special object it was to liberate men from all groundless fears and enable them to live happy and contented lives. According to the distinctive tenet of this system, pleasure is the highest good; it should be remembered, however, that the term as used by Epicurus signified pleasure in its purest and best sense.

13. Standing as a Philosopher. — Cicero was personally acquainted with the leading representatives in his day of the four great schools, the Academy, the Lyceum, the Porch, and the Garden. Besides receiving

instruction from the most eminent expounders of the doctrines of these schools, he had roamed over the whole field of Greek philosophy and made himself familiar with all that had been accomplished in this department of intellectual activity. In spite of his fondness for the subject, however, he was not an original thinker, nor did he attempt to establish a system or found a school of his own. His mission lay in making known to his countrymen what had been wrought out by the Greeks. Taking their works as a basis and adapting them to Roman needs, he discussed, in popular style, the vital questions pertaining to man's existence, and laid down principles of action and rules of conduct which approach very closely at many points to the highest Christian standard.

So far as adherence to any system is concerned, Cicero was an independent, or more correctly, an eclectic. In speculative philosophy he accepted the doctrine of the New Academy, which holds a high degree of probability as alone attainable in human knowledge, regarding absolute certainty as beyond the domain of man's reason. In ethics he agreed with the Stoics and Peripatetics on their common ground: that virtue is the highest good, and that life in accordance with nature or right reason, is the perfection of duty. In his view of external good, he wavered between the severe logic of the Stoics, who affirmed that it was a matter of indifference, and the less dogmatic reasoning of the Peripatetics, who ascribed some value and importance to it, while holding that it must never be made the sole object of man's desire. Epicureanism received no favor at the hands of Cicero. Its passive doctrines of ease and contentment could have no charm for one who found his greatest enjoyment, either in the varied excitement and manifold duties of public office, or in the most intense intellectual activity.

Cicero's independence and eclecticism led him to expound and compare opposing views and conflicting systems. This fact has resulted greatly to our advantage in enlarging our horizon and making us acquainted with much in the history of philosophy that must otherwise have remained unknown to us. The value of his achievements in this particular to the Romans can hardly be overestimated. To them he disclosed the choicest treasures and the most ennobling products of Greek thought, and made intelligible by translation, by definition, and practical illustration, truths and sentiments to which they had hitherto been strangers.

CICERO'S WORKS.

14. Orations. — Fifty-seven orations ascribed to Cicero are now extant, of which some are incomplete, and four or five may possibly be spurious. We have fragments of about twenty more, and know the titles of thirty-three others.

15. Letters. — More than eight hundred of Cicero's letters have been preserved. These are divided as follows: —

Epistulae ad Familiares, 16 Books.
Epistulae ad Atticum, 16 Books.
Epistulae ad Quintum Fratrem, 3 Books.
Epistulae ad M. Brutum, 2 Books.

16. Poems. — Only fragments of Cicero's poetical works remain. These give evidence of skill in versification, but are lacking in poetic inspiration. Most of them belong to his earlier years; they were often mere youthful exercises, or translations from the Greek. Cicero wrote a metrical account of his own consulship, in three books, of which about eighty lines are still preserved. He also wrote a poem entitled *De Meis Temporibus*, supposed to have been a continuation of the poem on his consulship.

17. Philosophical Works. — The following arrangement has been adapted from Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography*.

A. *Rhetorical.*

De Inventione Rhetorica, 2 Books.
De Oratore, 3 Books.
De Claris Oratoribus (*Brutus*).
Orator.
De Partitione Oratoria.
Topica.
De Optimo Genere Oratorum.
[*Rhetorica* (*Ad Herennium, Incerti Auctoris*), 4 Books.]

B. *Political.*

De Republica, 6 Books. (Fragments.)
De Legibus, 3 Books.

C. *Ethical.*

De Officiis, 3 Books.
De Senectute (*Cato Maior*).
De Amicitia (*Laelius*).
De Gloria, 2 Books. (Now lost.)
De Consolatione. (Fragments.)

D. *Speculative.*

Academicae Quaestiones, 2 Books.
De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum, 5 Books.
Tusculanae Disputationes, 5 Books.
Paradoxa.
De Philosophia (*Hortensius*). (Fragments.)
Timaeus ex Platone.

E. *Theological.*

De Natura Deorum, 3 Books.
De Divinatione, 2 Books.
De Fato. (Fragment.)

BOOKS OF REFERENCE.

For a fuller account of the life and works of Cicero, the reader is referred to the following books:

18. Lives of Cicero.

ABEKEN: *Life and Letters.* Translated by Merivale.
FORSYTH: *Life of Cicero.*
MIDDLETON: *Life of Cicero* (last ed. Edinburgh, 1887).
SMITH'S *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography, Cicero.*
TROLLOPE: *Life of Cicero.*
WATSON: *Select Letters of Cicero.*

For ancient authorities, and for Latin versions of Cicero's life made up of extracts from his works, see *Smith's Dictionary* (cited above), Vol. I., p. 718.

Abeken's *Cicero in seinen Briefen*, Hanover, 1835, the original of Merivale's translation, is a standard work. Forsyth's life is the best.

It is favorable to Cicero, but not blindly partisan. Middleton's book is old and highly eulogistic, but not without merit. Smith's dictionary contains an interesting sketch of the orator, together with a complete list of his works. The article is especially convenient for reference. Trollope's life is attractive in style, and bold in Cicero's defense. It brings out his personal characteristics in a vivid manner. Watson's edition of select letters includes useful tables, introductions, and discussions. It is a valuable help to the study of Cicero's life as revealed in his correspondence.

19. Histories, containing Accounts of Cicero and His Times.

LEIGHTON: *History of Rome.*
LIDDELL: *History of Rome.*
MERIVALE: *History of the Romans under the Empire.*
MERIVALE: *The Roman Triumvirates.*
MOMMSEN: *History of Rome.*
NIEBUHR: *Lectures on the History of Rome.*

Leighton's history is well written and ambitious in plan. It is well supplied with convenient summaries and illustrative material. Liddell has long maintained its hold on popular favor. The author seeks to treat Cicero fairly. Merivale's larger work is a recognized authority on the history of Rome from the fall of the Republic to the age of the Antonines. The Roman Triumvirates is a smaller work of the same author. Merivale gives due prominence to Cicero and recognizes his strong as well as weak points. Mommsen's history is devoted to the growth and development of the State. It is a work of great value, but its conclusions are sometimes based upon speculation and not upon well-established evidence. Mommsen is exceedingly harsh in his treatment of Cicero. Niebuhr's Rome marked an epoch in historical studies. It was an attempt to demolish the old record and construct a new one. The lectures were published after his death from fragmentary notes, and are of less importance than the history.

20. Works on Roman Literature.

BENDER: *Brief History of Roman Literature.* Translated by Crowell and Richardson.
CRUTTWELL: *History of Roman Literature.*
SIMCOX: *History of Roman Literature.*

TEUFFEL: *History of Roman Literature.* English translation.
WILKINS: *Primer of Roman Literature.*

Bender's history and Wilkins's primer are brief but well written compendiums, designed to give the student an outline of Roman literature. The works of Cruttwell and Simcox, the latter in two volumes, are much broader in scope and better suited to the wants of the general reader. Cruttwell's is a good handbook; Simcox is more profound and scholarly. Teuffel's history, in two volumes, is especially valuable for reference. It contains an immense amount of material and is absolutely indispensable to the scholar, but is not intended for general reading.

21. Histories of Philosophy.

BUTLER: *Lectures on the History of Ancient Philosophy.*
MAYOR: *Sketch of Ancient Philosophy.*
RITTER: *History of Ancient Philosophy.*
SCHWEGLER: *History of Philosophy.* Translated by Seelye.
ZELLER: *Greek Philosophy.* Translated by Evelyn Abbott.
ZELLER: *The Stoics, Epicureans, and Sceptics.* Translated by Reichel.
UEBERWEG: *History of Philosophy.* Translated by Morris.

Butler's lectures contain a readable exposition of the principles of Greek philosophy, together with accounts of the different schools and their founders. Mayor's sketch is excellent for a brief presentation. Ritter's history is a comprehensive work, invaluable for reference. The author gives a minute statement of Cicero's philosophy, and points out clearly the nature and value of the service rendered by him to Roman thought. Schwegler is clear in the statement of general principles, but not very thorough in the discussion of doctrines. Zeller shows the results of critical research and accurate scholarship. Morris's translation of Ueberweg, with additions by Porter, is, perhaps, superior in practical value to any other history of philosophy. Its bibliographical information is an important feature.

22. Miscellaneous Books.

BEESLY: *Catiline, Clodius, and Tiberius.*
BOISSIER: *Cicéron et ses Amis.*
CHURCH: *Roman Life in the Days of Cicero.*
COLLINS: *Cicero* (Ancient Classics for English Readers).

DYER: *The City of Rome.*
FOWLER: *Julius Caesar* (Heroes of the Nations).
FROUDE: *Caesar.*
LANDOR: *Imaginary Conversation between Cicero and his Brother.*
LORD: *The Old Roman World.*
NAPOLEON III.: *History of Julius Caesar.*
MONTESQUIEU: *Grandeur and Decadence of the Romans.*

A Greek version of the *De Senectute* was prepared by Theo. Gaza, Basel, 1524; edited by Hess, Halle, 1833.

Sir John Denham (1615–1668) published a metrical version in English.

Beesly's work, a collection of review essays, contains a severe arraignment of Cicero. Boissier gives a charming account of Cicero and his friends. The works of Church and Collins are popular in character, the latter designed especially for those who cannot read Latin. Dyer describes in brief compass the growth and development of the city, and relates the story of its famous monuments. Fowler's Caesar is an entertaining sketch prepared for the general reader. It sets forth Cicero's relations with Caesar. Froude regards Caesar as the one man for his time, and looks upon Cicero as a strange mixture of strength and weakness. Landor's imaginary conversations, after the manner of Plato, give one a familiar acquaintance with the personages involved. Lord's book is in popular vein, entertaining in matter and style. Napoleon III. made an elaborate attempt to defend Caesar. Montesquieu's is an old but valuable work.

The lists given above are not intended to be complete, but simply suggestive.

THE DE SENECTUTE.

23. Time of Composition. — It is impossible to fix the date of the *De Senectute* with absolute certainty. Slight hints in the essay itself and allusions in Cicero's letters lead us to believe that it was completed a few weeks after the death of Caesar. It may be assigned, therefore, with some degree of positiveness to April, 44 B.C. At all events, it belongs to the closing period of the author's life, when amid many disappointments and discouragements he manifested his greatest literary activity. The existing political conditions had compelled Cicero to withdraw from public affairs and seek consolation in philosophy. The death of his daughter Tullia, to whom he was devotedly attached, had filled his heart with lasting sorrow. It is not strange, then, that, bowed down as he was by personal grief, and distressed by the appalling calamities of the state, he turned his thoughts to the subject of Old Age. As the increasing weight of years rested more and more heavily upon him, it was but natural that he should reflect upon approaching death, and dwell with eager anticipation on the possibility of rejoining his loved ones in that spirit world, where he hoped also to meet and know the great and good of all ages and lands.

24. Plan of the Work. — Cicero represents Cato the Elder as setting forth the compensations and advantages of Old Age at the earnest solicitation of his young friends, Laelius and Scipio. Dialogue was a common form of literary presentation among the Greeks, and had already been made familiar to the Romans. Cicero, however, did not employ the Socratic method found in Plato's works, with its frequent interchange of question and answer, but chose rather the Aristotelian plan, a complete exposition of the subject by one leading speaker, with very few interruptions on the part of the listeners. In this way the author, through the medium of an appropriate historical character, publishes his own beliefs and gives them a touch of real life. To

the reader, the ideas advanced seem to flow from the actual experience of the speaker. No other method so successfully combines careful, accurate statement, on the one hand, with vividness, personal force, and dramatic action on the other. Cicero himself bears witness to its effectiveness: "Accordingly while reading my own words, I am at times so much affected that I think Cato and not myself speaking" (*De Am.* I. 4).

The scene of the imaginary dialogue is laid at the home of Cato, 150 B.C. Scipio and Laelius are supposed to pay a visit to the Censor and express their admiration of the manner in which he bears old age. Cato was at that time eighty-four and still remarkable for his physical and intellectual vigor. He was a representative Roman of the old school, a type of the men who subdued Italy and prepared the way for the conquest of the world. Scipio and Laelius belonged to a younger generation; their life-work was still before them. They might well be supposed to realize their responsibility in view of the opportunities opening before them, and feel anxious to learn what course they should pursue to reach such an honorable and enjoyable old age as that which had crowned Cato's long and active life.

25. Dedication to Atticus. — Cicero dedicated his *De Senectute*, and also the *De Amicitia*, later, to Titus Pomponius Atticus, as a tribute of respect to a lifelong friend. Their acquaintance began in boyhood, when they were schoolmates, and grew with advancing years into a strong and abiding attachment. Atticus, inheriting great wealth and preferring a life of refinement and leisure to the cares of public office, withdrew from the turmoil and danger consequent upon the unsettled condition of the Roman state, and resided for many years in Greece. This gave him abundant opportunity to pursue his studies and to try his hand as publisher, author, and literary critic, in the last of which *rôles*, especially, he displayed talent of no mean order. The experience thus gained, combined with an amiable disposition and refined character, made him a congenial companion for Cicero,

while his excellent judgment and scholarly taste enabled him to assist his friend with practical suggestions and wise criticisms. When the *De Senectute* was completed, Atticus had already reached the age of sixty-five. It was eminently fitting, therefore, that Cicero should inscribe his essay on Old Age to him, and bestow this mark of honor upon a friend of such long standing, upon one, in fact, who had been alike the sharer of his youthful joys and the trusted companion of his riper age. It was Atticus' fortune, as the sequel proved, to survive the author ten years and test in his own experience the ingenious reasoning employed by his friend in his charming defense of life's declining years.

26. **Greek Sources.** — In the composition of the *De Senectute*, Cicero occasionally borrowed from Plato's Republic and Xenophon's Oeconomicus and Cyropaedia. The arguments which he gives for the immortality of the soul he simply repeats in substance from the works of Plato. An allusion in the first chapter to Aristo of Ceos certainly indicates that he was acquainted with a treatise on Old Age by that author. But whether he drew from this to any great extent or not we are unable to determine, for Aristo's work has not come down to us. Cicero makes no attempt to conceal his indebtedness to the Greeks. On the other hand, he frequently mentions his authorities for the purpose of strengthening and enforcing his point. In dealing with the originals he sometimes follows the text closely, and sometimes translates with greater freedom, often varying the minor features of an illustration in order to give it a more pronounced Roman coloring.

27. **Literary Character.** — As a literary production the *De Senectute* has deserved and won the highest praise. Cicero was preëminently a master of style, and in this treatise, in the composition of which he evidently took genuine delight, we see him at his best. The dialogue form made lively, animated discourse, easy of attainment, while the special line of argument employed prepared the way for apt and forcible illustrations. One by one the supposed charges against Old Age are reviewed and met by exam-

ples of eminent Greeks and Romans who preserved their vigor, military prowess, commanding influence in state affairs, literary skill, poetic inspiration, or philosophical acuteness far beyond man's allotted age of three score and ten. Cicero's wide acquaintance with literature and history made it an easy task for him to marshal the hosts of ancient worthies in support of his arguments. Besides this, in the simpler matter of form and arrangement he has displayed his best characteristics and made his work worthy of the most careful study. Sentence order based upon emphasis, pleonasm for rhetorical effect, anaphora with its resulting force and brevity, and, including all other excellences, the well-rounded period, so stately in its movement, and so impressive to the Roman mind, are exemplified in this essay in the well-nigh faultless style of the greatest master of the Latin tóngue. For more than eighteen centuries the *De Senectute* has been read and admired, a fact sufficient in itself to prove its beauty of expression and depth of meaning.

28. **Philosophical Value.** — In its philosophical import it is to be regarded as an ethical treatise written for a definite, practical purpose, to help his friend Atticus, and all who might read it, to bear the ills and burdens of life's closing period with becoming dignity and manly courage. Educated Romans had already lost faith in the corrupt and fanciful religious beliefs of their fathers. Lest they be tempted to yield ultimately to despair or to plunge into the mire of vice and immorality, the noblest minds sought refuge in the teachings of philosophy. For such, Cicero's moral treatises were full of comfort and inspiration. He delighted to draw his illustrations from the best years of his country's history, and to commend in earnest terms the simple virtues and temperate lives of Fabricius, Curius, and the men of their day. By such examples he sought to revive in the hearts of his fellow-citizens the ancient spirit of patriotism, which shrank from no sacrifice, even that of life itself, in defense of the honor and liberties of Rome.

But Cicero's message, uttered by the lips of Cato, was not limited to the men of his own time merely. The truths which he proclaimed were as broad in their meaning and as wide in their application as humanity itself. Emerson, in his essay on Old Age, thus bears witness to the enduring value and suggestive force of Cicero's work: "The speech led me to look over at home Cicero's famous essay, charming by its uniform rhetorical merit; heroic with Stoical precepts; with a Roman eye to the claims of the state; happiest, perhaps, in his praise of life on the farm; and rising at the conclusion to a lofty strain. But he does not exhaust the subject; rather invites the attempt to add traits to the picture from our broader modern life." Of its literary excellence and soundness in doctrine, the late Professor Lincoln thus speaks: "I have been impressed more than ever before with the worth of this Latin essay, in the justness of its sentiments and in the finish of its diction. The tone is cheerful and genial, and yet calm and serious; the argument for age moves on at times with a moderate concession, but mostly with a happy ingenuity and glowing fervor of defense. It is Roman in its good sense and sober, practical spirit; it is Ciceronian in the fullness and richness of its ideas and illustrations, and it is human and humane in all its views of man's life and destiny." (In Memoriam, J. L. L., p. 524.)

29. Characters. (1) **Laelius.** — Gaius Laelius, surnamed *Sapiens*, was born about 186 B.C. His father was the friend and associate of the elder Africanus in the Second Punic War, and was elected to the consulship, 190 B.C. The younger Laelius added broader culture and greater versatility of talent to the good qualities of the elder. He succeeded alike as soldier, orator, and author, and held the offices of tribune, praetor, augur, and consul, the last in the year 140 B.C. In the fierce struggle at the capture and destruction of Carthage, he was second in command to Scipio, and displayed remarkable skill and bravery. As a patron of literature he was even more distinguished than in the capacity of statesman or general. Well trained in oratory, law, and philosophy, he delighted to gather about him the choicest spirits and brightest wits

of his time. To his home came Pacuvius, Terence, Lucilius, Scaevola, and men of similar tastes, and together they studied the best authors or discussed the profoundest questions in philosophy. From this group of scholarly men radiated an influence beneficial to the interests of learning and culture in Rome. To this company, too, belonged Scipio, in whom Laelius found a kindred soul and a never-failing friend. Though the younger Africanus received more ample civil and military honors, yet he willingly yielded the palm to Laelius as a man of letters and a patron of scholars. For years these distinguished leaders, the best products of Roman civilization, alike the ornament and the defense of the state, shared their burdens and their pleasures. Of the noted friendships of antiquity, none surpasses that of Laelius and Scipio in sincerity and unselfishness, or in nobility of aim and purity of purpose. When Cicero wrote his *De Amicitia*, he selected Laelius as best qualified by experience to set forth the principles and advantages of friendship, and eulogize the life and character of the departed Scipio. How long Laelius survived the death of the latter is not known.

(2) **Scipio.** — Scipio was the son of Aemilius Paulus Macedonicus, who defeated Perseus at Pydna, 168 B.C., and thus completed the conquest of Macedonia. He was born 185 B.C., and was adopted by the eldest son of Scipio Africanus. By virtue of this adoption, his full name became Publius Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus, to which was afterwards added Africanus, in honor of his victory over Carthage. His first experience as a soldier was gained under his father at Pydna. In the year 151 B.C. he served as military tribune in Spain, and won distinction by his energy and personal courage. In the Third Punic War, the Romans, disheartened by the ill success of their generals, elected Scipio consul for the year 147 B.C., though he had not yet reached the legal age, and gave him the chief command, in the hope that he would quickly terminate the conflict, and add new luster to Roman arms. Their confidence was not misplaced. In the following spring he captured the city, utterly overthrew the Carthaginian power, and received as his own reward a magnificent triumph at Rome. Again, in 133 B.C., he was called upon to retrieve losses due to the mismanagement and incompetency of others, and brought to a successful issue the Numantine War, which had been prolonged, to the injury and discredit of Rome, ten years. Upon his return from this campaign, he lost the favor of the popular party by expressing approbation of the murder of Ti. Gracchus.

THE SCIPIOS.

- L. Cornelius Scipio, Cos. 259 B.C.
  - P. Cornelius Scipio, Cos. 218 B.C.; killed in Spain, 212 B.C.
    - P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus Maior; m. Aemilia
      - P. Scipio.
        - P. Scipio Africanus Minor (son of L. Aemilius Paulus); m. Sempronia.
      - Cn. Scipio.
      - Cornelia; m. Scipio Nasica Corculum.
      - Cornelia; m. Ti. Gracchus.
        - Ti. Gracchus, Trib.; k. 133 B.C.
        - C. Gracchus, Trib.; k. 121 B.C.
        - Sempronia; m. Africanus Minor.
  - Cn. Scipio Calvus, Cos. 222 B.C.; killed in Spain, 212 B.C.
    - P. Scipio Nasica, Cos. 191 B.C.
      - P. Scipio Nasica Corculum, Cos. 162, 155 B.C.; m. Cornelia.
        - P. Scipio Nasica Serapio, Cos. 138 B.C.; led the opposition to Ti. Gracchus.

Scipio's death occurred 129 B.C., under very suspicious circumstances. After making vigorous opposition in the senate to some of the provisions of the agrarian laws of Gracchus, he was conducted to his home by senators and landed proprietors of the Italian allies, who showed in this manner their appreciation of his bold stand in advocating their interests against the demands of the reformers. On the following morning he was found dead on his couch. The true story of his death still remains a mystery. Many suspected foul play, and openly charged Carbo, one of the leaders of the Gracchan party, with the crime of murder. His subsequent suicide gave strong ground for belief in his guilt, but the accusation was never substantiated by legal proof.

Scipio, like his lifelong companion, Laelius, was a man of great culture and refinement, a patron of Greek learning in its best form, and the warm friend of the historian Polybius. In purity of life and devotion to principle, the younger Africanus has had no superior in the annals of his country. Great as he appeared in war, as the conqueror of the two cities most hostile to Rome, he deserves still higher distinction for his cultivation of the ennobling arts of peace and his generous patronage of the famous "Scipionic Circle," composed of the most enlightened authors and scholars of Rome.

The table on page 31, adapted from Smith's *Dictionary of Biography*, shows the relationship of the most noted members of the Scipio family.

(3) **Cato.** — The chief events in Cato's life are enumerated by Cicero in the *De Senectute*, but a brief sketch of the man will be appropriate at this point and will help to a clearer understanding of the text. It must be borne in mind that Cicero did not select Cato as the principal speaker in the dialogue in the belief that he was in all respects an ideal person, but rather on account of the integrity, the physical vigor, and the intellectual activity which he manifested in extreme old age, and that in the progress of the work he found it necessary to remodel Cato's character to some extent, softening its harsh features, rounding off the sharp corners and imparting to it more refinement and culture than ever actually marked the stern old Censor.

Marcus Porcius Cato belonged to a plebeian family of Sabine stock and was born at Tusculum, 234 B.C. Though we know little of his early years, yet we may reasonably conclude that he received the best training in law and oratory afforded by his native town and the neighboring city of Rome. The plain, austere life of the hardy Sabines seems to have

suited his vigorous constitution and pleased his simple tastes, for he not only labored in his boyhood on the paternal estate, but always manifested special fondness for his country home, and never shrank from the severest kind of toil known to the sturdy farmers of that rude age.

Like other young men of his time, he rendered his first service to the state, as a soldier in the Second Punic War, taking part with great credit to himself in several important engagements, including the decisive battle of the Metaurus. In the year 204 B.C. he was quaestor in Sicily under Scipio. The two men were totally unlike in disposition and in their views of public service. Cato's vigorous opposition to what he regarded as the unwarranted extravagance of his superior in office resulted in the mutual hatred and open hostility which existed between them for nearly twenty years and terminated only at Scipio's death. Cato became aedile 199 B.C., praetor in the following year, and in 195 B.C. reached the dignity of the consulship.

His colleague in the latter office was his patron and life-long friend Valerius Flaccus, a wealthy and powerful Roman, who had been early impressed with the sterling qualities of the young Cato and had induced him to take up his abode in the metropolis that he might try his powers in a broader field. The province of Spain fell to his lot, and this he ruled with so much vigor, and at the same time with such wisdom and justice, that he won the respect and confidence of the provincials and received on his return to Rome the distinguished honor of a triumph.

In 191 B.C., Antiochus, king of Syria, invaded Greece at the instigation of Hannibal, the implacable foe of the Republic, and in the campaign which followed Cato served as *legatus consularis* on the staff of Acilius Glabrio, the Roman commander, adding new luster to his military fame. By his success in gaining the rear of the enemy by a night march through a difficult and dangerous path, and by his sudden attack upon the unsuspecting foe, he contributed very materially to Glabrio's victory at Thermopylae.

In the year 184 B.C., Cato held the office of censor. It was in this position that he gained his greatest distinction and made the force of his personality most strikingly felt. Supported by his colleague, his old friend and admirer Valerius Flaccus, he at once adopted the strictest measures to check extravagance and corruption, and tried to bring about a complete reform in the morals of Rome. The lists of knights and

ROCK. CIC. — DE SENEC.
W. P. 4

PREFACE.

THE text of this edition of *Cicero De Senectute* is substantially that of C. F. W. Müller (Leipsic, 1879). The few deviations from his reading are stated on p. 152, and discussed in the supplementary notes. A different punctuation has been adopted in some passages, and in a few words the orthography has been corrected to conform to Brambach.

The *De Senectute* is usually given a place in the early part of the college course, when training in the reading of the Latin is imperatively needed. To assist the student in acquiring greater accuracy in pronunciation, the long vowels in the text have been marked. In this Lewis has been taken as a guide, and both his *Latin Dictionary for Schools* and his *Elementary Latin Dictionary* have been consulted. It is earnestly hoped that this feature may be welcomed by teachers, and may prove to be of practical value. It must be remembered, however, that absolute accuracy in marking quantities is out of the question.

The Introduction has been made somewhat full in order to present, in convenient form, a sketch of Cicero's life, with a brief account of what he has accomplished in literature, and more especially in philosophy. In the preparation of the sections which bear upon his standing as a philosopher and his relation to the leading schools, Mayor's admirable *Sketch of Greek Philosophy* has been very helpful.

Cicero's defense of old age is so charming in style and so interesting in subject-matter that it deserves something more by way of commentary than mere discussion of grammatical and

linguistic usage. Accordingly an attempt has been made in the illustrative notes, on the pages with the text, to give sufficient prominence to the historical and literary features of the essay, and to show by numerous quotations what ancient and modern authors have uttered like thoughts, couched in similar forms of expression. In numerous cases it will be seen that there is something more than a mere similarity of thought and expression. Without doubt many modern writers have drawn their inspiration direct from the lofty sentiments of Cicero's essay, and thus the student is introduced to a very interesting and important literary study of the great master of Latin prose. If this portion of the work shall prove suggestive and stimulating, it will accomplish its intended purpose.

In the supplementary notes a large number of grammatical references have been given, and whatever assistance seemed necessary in the translation of difficult passages, together with brief discussions of disputed readings. For convenience of reference an index to the notes and an index of proper names have been added.

In the preparation of this edition many works have been consulted. The most assistance has been received from the editions of Lemaire, Tischer, Lahmeyer, Sommerbrodt, Meissner, and Reid. My thanks are especially due to the editors of the American Book Company, who have made many valuable suggestions, and who have greatly lightened the labor of taking these pages through the press.

FRANK E. ROCKWOOD.

BUCKNELL UNIVERSITY,
December, 1894.

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

LIFE OF CICERO.

1. Introduction.—Cicero must be regarded as essentially a man of letters. Whatever strength or weakness he may have manifested in public life, he undoubtedly forms the central figure in Roman literature. His matchless style, his rich and varied learning, and his wonderful powers of application easily made him the foremost writer of Latin prose. To the student hitherto acquainted with Cicero only through his orations and letters, he is revealed in a new character in the light of his ethical and philosophical works. For a just appreciation of the latter, a brief review of the author's life and studies will be eminently helpful.

2. Early Life and Education.—Marcus Tullius Cicero was born at Arpinum in Latium, 106 B.C. His father belonged to the equestrian order and was well qualified by learning and culture to direct the training of the future orator and student of philosophy. The young Marcus, with his brother Quintus, was early taken to Rome to receive the best instruction which the capital had to offer. Among his teachers were the poet Archias, the famous lawyers of the Scaevola family, Phaedrus the Epicurean philosopher, Philo of the New Academy, Diodotus the Stoic, and Molo the rhetorician.

Cicero was especially fond of Greek literature and philosophy, and gained from these sources the elegance of expression and

wealth of illustration so abundantly displayed in his maturer works. To oratory and law he devoted himself with the utmost eagerness, both from his natural fondness for these subjects, and because he saw the possibility of winning by eloquence and skill as an advocate the leadership in Rome which others had acquired through valor and success on the field of battle. A brief experience in military affairs, however, formed part of his early training, for at the age of seventeen he served through one campaign in the Social War.

Cicero's genuine enthusiasm in his studies prompted him to tireless activity in their pursuit and to the adoption of the most thorough and practical methods known to his day. Actors, orators, rhetoricians, and philosophers were his teachers. The principles of their instruction he put in practice in declamation, debate, and composition, in both Greek and Latin. The success of his later years was no mere accident, nor was it the manifestation of brilliant genius, untrained and untaught, — it was rather the natural result of the most painstaking and persistent toil. The whole soul of the man was aglow with the fire of learning. Every opportunity to secure enlarged intellectual growth and development was eagerly seized.

In the school, the lecture-room, the courts, and the Forum he was an interested observer and an eager learner. Books and men, history and life, were the objects of his study. Whatever he acquired he tested for himself and used for the enlightenment of his fellows, always actuated by an irresistible desire to obtain the clear light of truth and to illumine others with its brightness. Like his rival for the palm of eloquence among the ancients, the renowned orator of the Greeks, he succeeded chiefly by his remarkable application to work and his untiring effort to realize a high ideal. Of the two masters of forensic speech, Cicero was the broader intellectually, while Demosthenes was more impressive as a speaker, carrying conviction ofttimes as much by the weight of his character as by the force of his words.

3. First Appearance as an Advocate. — Cicero did not yield to any boyish temptation to display his immature talents for the sake of winning temporary applause, but chose rather to bide his time and offer himself as a candidate for popular favor only after rigorous training and long-continued study. Accordingly, he was twenty-five when he appeared as an advocate in behalf of P. Quinctius, and a year older when he won great applause by his bold defense of Sex. Roscius, who had been accused of parricide by a freedman of the dictator Sulla. It was not precocity of talent, but disciplined strength and conscious power that gave him the victor's laurels at the very beginning of his career. Too intense application to literary pursuits, however, somewhat impaired his health, and consequently, in 79 B.C., he followed the advice of friends, and sought rest and recuperation in Greece and the East. While in quest of bodily strength he improved every opportunity to hear the best teachers in Athens, Rhodes, and Asia Minor; and after an absence of two years returned to Rome in renewed physical vigor, more proficient in the orator's art, and with a mind richly stored with the fruits of study and travel. All rivals in the race for fame were speedily distanced, and he became the acknowledged leader of the Roman bar, the most eloquent orator of his age.

4. Public Offices. — Public honors were heaped upon the rising advocate in generous profusion. In due order of time, he held the offices of quaestor, aedile, praetor, and consul, each at the earliest age permitted by law. His learning, eloquence, devotion to duty, personal integrity, and above all, his unbounded patriotism, ensured him marked success in every public station which he was called upon to occupy. During his consulship the liberties of Rome and the very existence of the government were jeopardized by the conspiracy of Catiline, Cicero's defeated rival for the highest honor in the gift of the citizens. But by the vigilance of the consul the plot was detected, and its full extent and purpose were made known to the senate. Many of the leaders were

arrested in the city and put to death, and Catiline himself, forced to fly for safety, was afterwards defeated and slain, while attempting to gain by open war what he had hoped to accomplish by assassination and secret plotting.

5. **Cicero in Exile.** — In the year 58 B.C., came the first serious blow to Cicero's hopes and ambitions. Up to this time his success had been brilliant in the extreme. Born in a provincial town, without distinguished ancestors, he had made his way by the force of his intellect and the persuasive power of his eloquence to the highest pinnacle of political renown. In return for his courage and patriotic devotion in the hour of Rome's impending danger, he had been hailed by his grateful fellow-citizens as the savior of his country. But Clodius, an unprincipled noble, enraged at Cicero for testifying against him when on trial for attending the festival of the Bona Dea at Caesar's house, secured adoption into a plebeian family for the sole purpose that he might be elected tribune and bring about Cicero's banishment. Installed in office, he obtained the passage of a law ordaining exile for any one who had ordered the death of a Roman citizen without due form of legal trial. This was aimed directly at Cicero, who had caused Lentulus, Cethegus, and others of the Catilinarian conspirators to be put to death in prison. From March, 58, to August, 57, B.C., the ex-consul dragged out a wretched existence as an exile in Greece, forbidden on pain of death to approach within five hundred miles of Rome. The calamity was severer than he could bear. Discouraged and well-nigh broken-hearted, he gave himself up to grief and bitter repining.

But at last the efforts of friends to procure his recall were successful. The homeward journey from Brundisium to Rome was one continuous ovation. From all sides the people flocked to greet him and accompany him on his way to the capital, until his final entry to the city was like the triumph of a returning conqueror. For the time, the multitude recalled with gratitude his former services, and welcomed him back with distinguished

honor to the city which he had once saved from traitors' hands.

6. Proconsul in Cilicia. — A law was passed in Pompey's third consulship restricting the government of foreign provinces to praetors and consuls who had been at least five years out of office. To fill vacancies immediately occurring, appointments were made by lot from those not debarred by the new law. To Cicero's intense disgust his name came forth from the urn for the proconsulship of Cilicia. His administration, however, was marked by the same energy and integrity that had characterized his conduct in more acceptable official positions. Though he reluctantly laid aside his studies to enter upon the less congenial duties of provincial governor, yet his course was marked with such intelligence and justice that all classes and orders coming under his rule looked upon him as an upright judge and a faithful protector of his people.

Even success in arms was added to his victories of peace, and he was hailed by his soldiers with the title of *imperator*. Encouraged by this, Cicero seemed at last to catch the true spirit of a soldier and looked with longing eyes toward that goal of every Roman general's ambition, the splendid honor of a triumph. The commendable record made by him in his new, and not altogether pleasing, field of labor, may be taken as a clear indication of his breadth of character, and as ample proof of the wonderful power there is in simple honesty of purpose and unfaltering industry to make one successful, even under the most unfavorable circumstances.

7. Position in the Civil War. — That portion of Cicero's life which immediately followed his return to Rome, in January, 49 B.C., was probably marked by more doubt and perplexity than any other period in his entire history. Certainly his course during those eventful months has given his admirers in all ages but little unalloyed satisfaction. Caesar and Pompey were contending for supremacy. Civil war with its attendant horrors

was about to break forth. Cicero's ideal was the old Republic. It was impossible for him to turn with enthusiasm and hope either to Caesar or to Pompey. The course which he adopted seems weak and vacillating because he was compelled to choose between two evils and found it exceedingly difficult to decide which was the less. He was undoubtedly mistaken in judgment on many points, and blind to the true condition of the times. He failed to realize that the former order of things had irrevocably changed, that old forms of government had lost their force, and that, unless there should be a complete regeneration of the Roman people, only the strong hand of a master could give peace and stability to the government. For a long time weak and irresolute in the face of the most distressing doubt and uncertainty, he at length cast his fortunes with Pompey, only, however, to regret his choice when he realized how vain his hope had been that this much overrated man and inefficient leader could restore the dignity of the senate and the majesty of the Republic.

After the crushing defeat of the senatorial army at Pharsalus and the subsequent flight and death of its commander, Cicero yielded to the inevitable and accepted the clemency of the conqueror, who, whatever else may be said of him, was generous to his foes. Fortunate it was for his countrymen and for us, that Cicero's patriotism was not of that narrow, rigid sort which impelled Cato of Utica to look upon death as a welcome relief from the supremacy of one man. Cicero was indeed cast in a nobler mold and fashioned of diviner stuff. He possessed more of the scholar's spirit and a larger measure of the philosopher's consolation and hope. Withdrawing from public gaze, he found solace in the contemplation of truth and inspiration in the ennobling pursuit of letters. Devoting himself in this time of political distress and confusion to the composition of his noblest works, he brought forth the ripened fruit of years of laborious study, and handed down to the scholars of all time the priceless

inheritance of his most earnest philosophical discussions and his loftiest ethical teachings.

8. Opposition to Antony. — But Cicero was not destined to close his life in the peaceful retirement of the scholar. Still stormier scenes awaited him than any through which he had yet passed. The murder of Caesar on the Ides of March, 44 B.C., was but the renewal of strife and bloodshed that were destined to end only with the founding of the new Empire. Cicero's first impulse was to seek personal safety in Greece; but though he commenced the journey, he quickly changed his course and repaired to Rome in the earnest belief that the senatorial party would ultimately prevail. The closing year of his life was filled with stirring events. He became the leader of the senate and people, and bent all his energies to the establishment of peace on a secure basis and the rehabilitation of the government on its former lines. Looking upon Antony as a dangerous foe to the state, he attacked him in those fiery invectives known as the Philippics. But the temporary success of the consuls over Antony at Mutina and the ceaseless efforts which Cicero made to strengthen the hands of the constitutional party in the city and provinces failed to revive the ancient spirit and to restore the liberties of the people.

Octavianus, at the head of his legions, forced his own election to the consulship, although but nineteen years of age, and then, uniting with Antony and Lepidus in the formation of the second triumvirate, shattered the hopes of all who had fondly dreamed that the golden age of the Republic was about to return. The current was, in fact, setting in the other direction, and a stronger arm and stouter heart than Cicero's would have been powerless before it. Complete success for the three self-appointed lords of Rome was possible only by the destruction of their personal foes and the death of every leader of the opposition. Accordingly, the proscription of Sulla was renewed, and Cicero's name was placed by Antony's command on the list of those to be destroyed.

Licet enim mihi versibus eīsdem adfārī tē, Attice, quibus adfātur Flāminīnum

Ille vir haud māgnā cum rē, sed plēnus fideī;

quamquam certō sciō nōn, ut Flāminīnum,

Sollicitārī tē, Tite, sīc noctēsque diēsque;

nōvī enim moderātiōnem animī tuī et aequitātem, tēque nōn cōgnōmen sōlum Athēnīs dēportāsse, sed hūmānitātem et

Flāminīnum. Scarcely anything is known of the early life of Flamininus. He was made consul 198 B.C., at which time he is said to have been but thirty years of age. Having brought the second Macedonian war to a successful close, he held the fate of Greece in his hands. When in the summer of 196 B.C., the people, anxious to know his decision, had assembled in great numbers in the amphitheater at Corinth, on the occasion of the Isthmian games, he ordered a crier to announce that "the Roman senate and Titus Quinctius, the commander, having conquered Philip and the Macedonians, declared all the Greeks who had been subject to the king free and independent." In the year 183 B.C., Flamininus was sent on an errand that reflected no credit upon himself or the senate. He was commissioned to visit the court of Prusias, king of Bithynia, and demand the person of Hannibal. But the proud-spirited Carthaginian, defeated in all his plans against Rome and now driven from his last place of refuge, terminated by poison the life that had long ceased to be worth the living. Flamininus appears to have been living in 168 B.C., but after that time disappears from history.

aequitātem. Horace refers to the same quality of mind in *Odes* II. 3,

Aequam memento rebus in arduis
Servare mentem, non secus in bonis
Ab insolenti temperatam
Laetitia, moriture Delli.

cōgnōmen. A Roman had at least two names, generally three, *praenomen*, *nomen*, *cognomen*, as *Gaius Iulius Caesar*. The term *cognomen* is applied to the family name, and also used to designate a by-name, as *Africanus* and *Atticus*. Titus Pomponius received this surname from his long residence in Athens (86–65 B.C.) and from his generosity to the Athenians and his true Attic culture. He left Rome on account of the disturbed condition of the state and sought Athens as a favorable place to prosecute his studies. Cf. Nep. *Att.* 2, *idoneum tempus ratus studiis obsequendi suis, Athenas se contulit;* also ibid. *Hic ita vixit, ut universis Atheniensibus merito esset carissimus;* ibid. 4, *Sic enim Graece loquebatur ut Athenis natus videretur.*

hūmānitātem. Derived from *humanus*, that which becomes a man,

prūdentiam intellegō. Et tamen tē suspicor eīsdem rēbus
quibus mē ipsum interdum gravius commovērī, quārum cōn-
sōlātiō et māior est et in aliud tempus differenda. Nunc aut-
2 em vīsum est mihi dē senectūte aliquid ad tē cōnscrībere. Hōc
enim onere, quod mihi commūne tēcum est, aut iam urgen-
tis aut certē adventantis senectūtis et tē et mē etiam ipsum
levārī volō; etsī tē quidem id modicē ac sapienter, sīcut om-
nia, et ferre et lātūrum esse certō sciō. Sed mihi, cum dē
senectūte vellem aliquid scrībere, tū occurrēbās dīgnus eō
mūnere, quō uterque nostrūm commūniter ūterētur. Mihi
quidem ita iūcunda hūius librī cōnfectiō fuit, ut nōn modo
omnīs absterserit senectūtis molestiās, sed effēcerit mollem
etiam et iūcundam senectūtem. Numquam igitur satis dīgnē
laudārī philosophia poterit, cui quī pāreat, omne tempus
3 aetātis sine molestiā possit dēgere. Sed dē cēterīs et dīximus
multa et saepe dīcēmus; hunc librum ad tē dē senectūte
mīsimus. Omnem autem sermōnem tribuimus nōn Tīthōnō,

culture. Cf. the English "humanity" in the sense of "liberal education," and "the humanities" equivalent to "branches of polite learning," especially "the classics."

commūne. Cicero was sixty-two, Atticus sixty-five.

senectūtis. The Romans divided the life of man into the following periods, each of the first four about fifteen years in length: *pueritia, adulescentia, iuventus, aetas seniorum, senectus.* Some of these terms were occasionally used loosely, without strict regard for the exact divisions of human life to which they technically belonged.

modicē. What substantive has Cicero previously employed to denote this same characteristic of Atticus?

certō. How does this differ in force from *certe?*

iūcundam. This effect does not seem to have been lasting; cf. *Ad Att.* XIV. 21, 3, *Legendus mihi saepius est Cato maior ad te missus. Amariorem enim me senectus facit. Stomachor omnia.*

laudārī philosophia poterit. For Cicero's high opinion of philosophy, cf. *Tusc.* V. 2, 5, *O vitae philosophia dux! O virtutis indagatrix expultrixque vitiorum!*

Tīthōnō. The son of Laomedon and husband of Aurora. In answer to her prayers, Jupiter granted him length of days, but not immortal

obrēpit? Deinde quī minus gravis esset eīs senectūs, sī octingentēsimum annum agerent quam sī octōgēsimum? Praeterita enim aetās quamvīs longa cum effluxisset, nūlla cōnsōlātiō permulcēre posset stultam senectūtem. Quōcircā sī sapientiam meam admīrārī solētis (quae utinam dīgna esset opīniōne vestrā nostrōque cōgnōmine!), in hōc sumus sapientēs, quod nātūram optimam ducem tamquam deum sequimur eīque pārēmus; ā quā nōn vērī simile est, cum cēterae partēs aetātis bene dēscrīptae sint, extrēmum āctum tamquam ab inertī poētā esse neglēctum. Sed tamen

would require two terms, *aetas seniorum* and *senectus* (in the restricted sense).

opīniōne . . . cōgnōmine. Note the chiasmus. Cato received the surname *Sapiens* on account of his practical wisdom, as manifested in his pithy sayings; cf. *De Am.* II. 6, in which Fannius says Cato was called wise, *quia multarum rerum usum habebat.*

nātūram optimam ducem. The Stoics taught that man ought to live in accordance with nature. By *natura* they meant the law of man's being, "right reason" applied to human conduct. They believed it possible for man to learn by observation and self-study the constitution of his being, and the natural law to which he was in duty bound to conform his life. Cf. *De Am.* V. 19, *naturam optimam bene vivendi ducem; De Off.* III. 3, *quod summum bonum a Stoicis dicitur, convenienter naturae vivere; De Leg.* I. 6, *Ista (natura) duce errari nullo pacto potest.*

extrēmum āctum. *The last act* of the drama of life; for other instances of this figure, cf. XVIII. 64; XIX. 70; XXIII. 85. The comparison of life to a play is of very frequent occurrence in ancient and modern literature. Cf. Shakespeare's well-known lines, *As You Like It*, Act II. sc. 7,

> All the world's a stage,
> And all the men and women merely players;

also *The Merchant of Venice*, Act I. sc. 1,

> I hold the world but as the world, Gratiano;
> A stage, where every man must play a part;

Macbeth, Act V. sc. 5,

> Life's but a walking shadow; a poor player,
> That struts and frets his hour upon the stage
> And then is heard no more;

Thos. Heywood, *Apology for Actors*,

> The world's a theater, the earth a stage
> Which God and Nature do with actors fill.

necesse fuit esse aliquid extrēmum et tamquam in arborum bācīs terraeque frūctibus mātūritāte tempestīvā quasi viētum et cadūcum, quod ferundum est molliter sapientī. Quid est enim aliud Gigantum modō bellāre cum dīs nisi nātūrae repūgnāre?

6 Laelius. Atquī, Catō, grātissimum nōbīs, ut etiam prō Scīpiōne pollicear, fēceris, sī, quoniam spērāmus, volumus quidem certē senēs fierī, multō ante ā tē didicerimus, quibus facillimē ratiōnibus ingravēscentem aetātem ferre possīmus.

Catō. Faciam vērō, Laelī, praesertim sī utrīque vestrūm, ut dīcis, grātum futūrum est.

Laelius. Volumus sānē, nisi molestum est, Catō, tamquam longam aliquam viam cōnfēceris, quam nōbīs quoque ingrediundum sit, istūc, quō pervēnistī, vidēre quāle sit.

III.

7 Catō. Faciam, ut poterō, Laelī. Saepe enim interfuī querēlīs aequālium meōrum (parēs autem vetere prōverbiō

Volumus. With this passage, cf. Plato's *Republic*, I. 328 (Jowett's translation): "Socrates. 'There is nothing which I like better, Cephalus, than conversing with aged men like yourself; for I regard them as travelers who have gone a journey which I too may have to go, and of whom I ought to inquire, whether the way is smooth and easy, or rugged and difficult. And this is a question which I should like to ask of you who have arrived at that time which the poets call the threshold of old age, — is life harder towards the end, or what report do you give of it?'"

vetere prōverbiō. Cf. Homer, *Od.* XVII. 218, "Thus ever doth some god join like with like"; Plato's *Rep.* I. 329 (Jowett's Trans.), "Old men flock together; they are birds of a feather, as the proverb says"; *Phaedrus*, 240, "Equals, as the proverb says, delight in equals"; *Symposium*, 195, "He is not a bird of that feather; youth and love live and move together, — like to like, as the proverb says"; so Ter. *Heaut.* 419, *Nos quoque senes est aequom senibus obsequi;* Hor. *Ep.* I. 5, 25, *ut coeat par iungaturque pari;* Liv. I. 46, 7, *Contrahit celeriter similitudo eos, ut fere fit; malum malo aptissimum;* Quint. V. 11, 41, *et apud Ciceronem, Pares autem . . . congregantur;* Amm. Marcell. XXVIII. 1,

cum paribus facillimē congregantur), quae C. Salīnātor, quae Sp. Albīnus, hominēs cōnsulārēs, nostrī ferē aequālēs, dēplōrāre solēbant, tum quod voluptātibus carērent, sine quibus vītam nūllam putārent, tum quod spernerentur ab eīs, ā quibus essent colī solitī. Quī mihi nōn id vidēbantur accūsāre, quod esset accūsandum. Nam sī id culpā senectūtis accideret, eadem mihi ūsū venīrent reliquīsque omnibus māiōribus nātū, quōrum ego multōrum cōgnōvī senectūtem sine querēlā, quī sē et libīdinum vinculīs laxātōs esse nōn molestē ferrent nec ā suīs dēspicerentur. Sed omnium istīus modī querēlārum in mōribus est culpa, nōn in aetāte. Moderātī enim et nec difficilēs nec inhūmānī senēs tolerābilem senectūtem agunt, importūnitās autem et inhūmānitās omnī aetātī molesta est.

8 Laelius. Est, ut dīcis, Catō; sed fōrtasse dīxerit quispiam tibi propter opēs et cōpiās et dīgnitātem tuam tolerābiliōrem senectūtem viderī, id autem nōn posse multīs contingere.

Catō. Est istud quidem, Laelī, aliquid, sed nēquāquam in istō sunt omnia. Ut Themistoclēs fertur Serīphiō cui-

53, *ut solent pares facile congregari cum paribus.*

facillimē. In the sense of *libentissime.* This chapter to § 9 is a very close imitation of Plato's *Republic*, I. 329–330.

C. Salīnātor. C. Livius Salinator was about four years younger than Cato. He commanded the Roman fleet against Antiochus, 191 B.C., and was consul 188 B.C.

Sp. Albīnus. Sp. Postumius Albinus held the consulship, 186 B.C.

Sed omnium . . . molesta est. Cf. Plato's *Rep.* I. 329, "And of these regrets, as well as of the complaint about relations, Socrates, the cause is to be sought, not in men's ages, but in their characters and tempers; for he who is of a calm and happy nature will hardly feel the pressure of age, but he who is of an opposite disposition will find youth and age equally a burden."

Themistoclēs. A celebrated Athenian general and statesman, born about the year 514 B.C. As soon as he was old enough to take part in public affairs, he revealed an overmastering ambition for brilliant

dam in iūrgiō respondisse, cum ille dīxisset nōn eum suā, sed patriae glōriā splendōrem adsecūtum: 'Nec hercule,' inquit, 'sī ego Serīphius essem, nec tū sī Athēniēnsis, clārus umquam fuissēs.' Quod eōdem modō dē senectūte dīcī potest. Nec enim in summā inopiā levis esse senectūs potest nē sapientī quidem nec īnsipientī etiam in summā
9 cōpiā nōn gravis. Aptissima omnīnō sunt, Scīpiō et Laelī, arma senectūtis artēs exercitātiōnēsque virtūtum, quae in omnī aetāte cultae, cum diū multumque vīxeris, mīrificōs ecferunt frūctūs, nōn sōlum quia numquam dēserunt, nē extrēmō quidem tempore aetātis (quamquam id quidem māximum est), vērum etiam quia cōnscientia bene āctae vītae multōrumque bene factōrum recordātiō iūcundissima est.

display and personal glory. He arrayed himself against many of the leaders of the state and manifested bitter hostility to Aristides the Just, upon whose ostracism he became the leading spirit in the political affairs of Athens. Special credit was due him for his wise course in building up the Athenian fleet, which he commanded with marked success in the great battle of Salamis, 480 B.C. But after a long career of self-seeking and political trickery, Themistocles was ostracised by his fellow-citizens, 471 B.C., on charges of bribery and extortion. To escape trial for treason, in which he had been implicated, he fled to the Persian court in 465 B.C., and there by his brilliant talents gained the favor of the king and enjoyed the wealth and honor of a prince until the close of his life in 449 B.C. The report that he brought on death by poison has gained some currency but lacks any substantial proof. He was honored with a monument in the city of Magnesia, in which he had spent the last years of his life. Themistocles was, in a word, a man of marked ability, but utterly devoid of character.

Serīphiō. *An inhabitant of Seriphus*, a small island in the Aegean Sea, now *Serfo*. The island was of very little importance.

eum. Themistocles. This story is taken from Plato's *Republic*, I. 330. It is also found in Plutarch's life of Themistocles. Herodotus, VIII. 125, relates the same incident in substance, but he differs from this account in some of the minor points.

Quod eōdem . . . dīcī potest. Cf. Plato, *Rep.* I. 330, "And to those who are not rich and are impatient of old age, the same reply may be made."

IV.

10 Ego Q. Māximum, eum quī Tarentum recēpit, senem adulēscēns ita dīlēxī, ut aequālem; erat enim in illō virō cōmitāte condīta gravitās, nec senectūs mōrēs mūtāverat. Quamquam eum colere coepī nōn admodum grandem nātū, sed tamen iam aetāte prōvēctum. Annō enim post cōnsul prīmum fuerat, quam ego nātus sum, cumque eō quārtum cōnsule adulēscentulus mīles ad Capuam profectus sum quīntōque annō post ad Tarentum. Quaestor deīnde quadrienniō post factus sum, quem magistrātum gessī cōnsulibus Tuditānō et Cethēgō, cum quidem ille admodum senex

Q. Māximum. Q. Fabius Maximus Verrucosus was one of the most prominent figures in the history of Rome during the last quarter of the third century B.C. He was honored with the censorship in 230, with the dictatorship, 221 and 217, and with the consulship five times, 233, 228, 215, 214, 209 B.C. Fabius was the chief of the Roman envoys to Carthage at the outbreak of the Second Punic War, and it was he who played the principal part in the scene so dramatically set forth by Livy, XXI. 18, *Tum Romanus, sinu ex toga facto. 'Hic,' inquit, 'vobis bellum et pacem portamus: utrum placet, sumite.'* Appointed Dictator after the battle of Trasumennus, he inaugurated his famous policy of "delay," by which he hoped to break down Hannibal's strength without risking a pitched battle. From this plan, which he so persistently followed himself and urged upon other commanders, he received the surname *Cunctator.* After the disaster to the Roman arms at Cannae, 216 B.C., Fabius was for many years the mainstay of the government and people. He died in 203 B.C. at an advanced age and with his fame overshadowed at the last by the greater success of the more aggressive Scipio.

Annō . . . quadrienniō post factus sum. The following are the dates referred to in the passage: —

B.C.	234.	Birth of Cato.
"	233.	Fabius' first consulship.
"	214.	" fourth "
"	214.	Cato, a common soldier (*miles*) at Capua.
"	209.	Cato with Fabius at the recapture of Tarentum.
"	204.	Cato, Quaestor.
"	204.	Tuditanus and Cethegus, Consuls.

Tuditānō et Cethēgō. P. Sempronius Tuditanus and M. Cornelius Cethegus. For the date of their con-

suāsor lēgis Cinciae dē dōnīs et mūneribus fuit. Hīc et bella gerēbat ut adulēscēns, cum plānē grandis esset, et Hannibalem iuvenīliter exsultantem patientiā suā molliēbat; dē quō praeclārē familiāris noster Ennius:

> Ūnus homō nōbīs cunctandō restituit rem.
> Noenum rūmōrēs pōnēbāt ante salūtem.
> Ergō plūsque magisque virī nunc glōria clāret.

sulship, see above. Note the connective *et*. When the *praenomina* are expressed the names generally stand without any conjunction.

lēgis Cinciae. M. Cincius Alimentus, Tribune of the plebs, 204 B.C., secured the passage of this law, by which advocates were forbidden to take fees from their clients. It was nominally in force until the time of the Emperor Claudius, though often evaded in various ways. Tacitus, *Ann.* XI. 5, thus alludes to it, *consurgunt patres legemque Cinciam flagitant, qua cavetur antiquitus, ne quis ob causam orandam pecuniam donumve accipiat.*

Hannibalem. Hannibal was undoubtedly one of the greatest generals in the world's history. Taught by his father Hamilcar to hate the Romans, he remained until the day of his death their bitterest foe. Had he been loyally supported by his own government, he might have been instrumental in changing the subsequent course of history. He will always be noted in military annals for his famous passage of the Alps and his overwhelming victories at Trasumennus and Cannae. For the manner of his death, see on *Flamininus*, p. 46.

iuvenīliter. Hannibal entered Italy, 218 B.C., at the age of twenty-nine, and was recalled to Carthage sixteen years later.

patientiā. This refers to Fabius' "staying" qualities, to his stubborn persistence in one definite plan of tiring out Hannibal.

Ennius. Ennius, sometimes called "the father of Roman poetry," was born at Rudiae in Calabria, 239 B.C. While serving as a soldier in Sardinia, near the close of the Second Punic War, he won the friendship of Cato, and was taken by him to Rome. Ennius was versed in Latin, Greek, and Oscan, and found opportunity in the busy life of the metropolis to turn his linguistic knowledge to practical account, as teacher and playwright. For his great work, the *Annals*, see p. 45.

Ūnus homō. These lines are from the eighth book of the *Annales*. They are quoted again by Cicero, *De Off.* I. 24; Vergil, *Aen.* VI. 846, borrows the first line,

> Tu Maximus ille es,
> Unus qui nobis cunctando restituis rem;

cf. also Livy, XXX. 26, *Sic nihil certius est, quam unum hominem*

11 Tarentum vērō quā vigilantiā, quō cōnsiliō recēpit! cum quidem mē audiente Salīnātōrī, quī āmīssō oppidō fūgerat in arcem, glōriantī atque ita dīcentī: 'Meā operā, Q. Fabī, Tarentum recēpistī': 'Certē,' inquit rīdēns, 'nam nisi tū āmīsissēs, numquam recēpissem.' Nec vērō in armīs praestantior quam in togā; quī cōnsul iterum Sp. Carviliō conlēgā quiēscente C. Flāminiō tribūnō plēbis, quoad potuit, restitit

nobis cunctando rem restituisse, sicut Ennius ait; Ov. Fast. II. 240–2,

> Unus de Fabia gente relictus erat,
> Scilicet ut posses olim tu, Maxime, nasci,
> Cui res cunctando restituenda foret.

Salīnātōrī. This is M. Livius Salinator, consul in 219 B.C. and father of the Salinator mentioned in III. 7. He was given the nickname *Salinator*, because of the salt-tax which he instituted when censor, 204 B.C. In his second consulship, in 207 B.C., he commanded the Romans in the fierce battle of the Metaurus, which resulted in the defeat and death of the Carthaginian general Hasdrubal, brother of Hannibal. This bloody struggle proved to be, in fact, the turning point in the war, and is now regarded as one of the world's decisive battles. (See Creasy's *Fifteen Decisive Battles.*) But Cicero is probably in error in connecting Salinator with the incident here related. We learn from Livy, XXVII. 34, 7, that M. Livius Macatus commanded the garrison at Tarentum when the city was treacherously delivered to Hannibal, 212 B.C. Cicero was very likely misled by the fact that the first two names were identical and that the commander was called in the records simply Marcus Livius. Macatus held the citadel until the town was retaken by Fabius. The words *Mea opera*, etc., were probably uttered during a debate in the senate to decide whether the commander should be praised for holding the citadel, or censured for losing the city. The latter was the outcome of the discussion.

Sp. Carviliō. Sp. Carvilius Maximus was consul in 234, and again in 228 B.C.

C. Flāminiō tribūnō plēbis. Flaminius was tribune of the people and secured the passage of this law in 232 B.C., four years before Fabius' second consulship. The easiest way to get over the apparent contradiction is to suppose that Flaminius was appointed a special officer to aid in carrying out the provisions of his agrarian law, and that he continued in the performance of these duties until the year 228 B.C. Flaminius held the consulship in 220, and again in 217 B.C. In the latter year he was defeated and slain at Lake Trasumennus as the result of his own rash folly. Cf. Cic. *Brut.* 14, 57, *Dicitur etiam C. Flaminius,*

agrum Pīcentem et Gallicum virītim contrā senātūs auctō-
ritātem dīvidentī; augurque cum esset, dīcere ausus est
optimīs auspiciīs ea gerī, quae prō reī pūblicae salūte gere-
rentur; quae contrā rem pūblicam ferrentur, contrā auspicia
12 ferrī. Multa in eō virō praeclāra cōgnōvī; sed nihil admī-
rābilius, quam quō modō ille mortem fīlī tulit, clārī virī

is qui tribunus plebis legem de agro Gallico et Piceno viritim dividundo tulit, qui consul apud Trasumennum est interfectus, ad populum valuisse dicendo.

agrum Pīcentem et Gallicum. The territory included Picenum and a portion of Umbria. The Senonian Gauls had been driven from this region by the Romans. Livy gives this as one reason why the Gallic chiefs would not promise the Roman envoys to prevent Hannibal from marching through Gaul to Italy; cf. Liv. XXI. 20, 6, *Contra ea audire sese, gentis suae homines agro finibusque Italiae pelli a populo Romano.*

augur. The public augurs consulted the omens and decided whether they were favorable or unfavorable. In course of time they acquired almost unlimited power. Every act of the government, including the passage of laws, the election of officers, and the declaration of war, depended upon the auspices. Nothing could be done by the magistrates unless the omens were favorable. With their exclusive right to interpret the latter, the augurs practically ruled the state. The number in the college was nine in Cato's time, but was increased ultimately to sixteen. The members were chosen for life. It is said that Fabius held the sacred office sixty-two years. The omens were determined in five ways: by the appearance of the heavens; the singing and flight of birds; the feeding of the sacred chickens; from the sudden or unusual appearance of animals (a private omen); from various occurrences, such as accidents, noises, sneezing, stumbling, and the like.

optimīs auspiciīs. Cf. Cic. *De Leg.* III. 3, 8, *salus populi suprema lex esto.* Gernhard, followed by many editors, compares Hector's words, Hom. *Il.* XII. 243 (Bryant's translation): —

Thou dost ask
That I be governed by the flight of birds,
Which I regard not, whether to the right
And toward the morning and the sun they fly,
Or toward the left and evening. We should heed
The will of mighty Jupiter, who bears
Rule over gods and men. One augury
There is, the surest and the best, — to fight
For our own land.

fīlī. He bore his father's name, Q. Fabius Maximus, and was consul 213 B.C., the year following his father's fourth consulship.

et cōnsulāris. Est in manibus laudātiō, quam cum legimus, quem philosophum nōn contemnimus? Nec vērō ille in lūce modo atque in oculīs cīvium māgnus, sed intus domīque praestantior. Quī sermō, quae praecepta, quanta nōtitia antīquitātis, scientia iūris augurī! Multae etiam, ut in homine Rōmānō, litterae; omnia memoriā tenēbat nōn domestica sōlum, sed etiam externa bella. Cūius sermōne ita tum cupidē fruēbar, quasi iam dīvīnārem, id quod ēvēnit, illō exstinctō fore, unde discerem, nēminem.

V.

13 Quōrsus igitur haec tam multa dē Māximō? Quia profectō vidētis nefās esse dictū miseram fuisse tālem senectūtem. Nec tamen omnēs possunt esse Scīpiōnēs aut Māximī, ut urbium expūgnātiōnēs, ut pedestrīs nāvālīsve pūgnās, ut bella ā sē gesta, ut triumphōs recordentur. Est etiam quiētē et pūrē atque ēleganter āctae aetātis placida ac lēnis senectūs, quālem accēpimus Platōnis, quī ūnō et octōgēsimō annō

laudātiō. Fabius pronounced the eulogy upon his own son. Funeral orations delivered by near relatives or intimate friends were preserved in the family archives. For the historical value of these addresses, see Cic. *Brut.* 16, 62, *his laudationibus historia rerum nostrarum est facta mendosior;* and Livy, VIII. 40, *Vitiatam memoriam funebribus laudibus reor.*

Multae . . . litterae. On the late development of literature at Rome, compare the well-known lines of Horace, *Ep.* II. 1, 156-163, in which he refers the beginning of Roman letters to the years immediately following the Second Punic War.

illō exstinctō. He died in the year 203 B.C.

Platōnis. Plato was born in Athens 429 or 428 B.C. At the age of twenty he became a pupil of Socrates. After the latter's death, he traveled extensively for about ten years, then returned to his native city, and a little later began to give instruction in philosophy to a band of young men who gathered about him in the grove of Academus. Cicero styles him *deus philosophorum*, *N. D.* II. 12, 32. Plato was doubly fort-

scrībēns est mortuus, quālem Īsocratis, quī eum librum, quī Panathēnāicus īnscrībitur, quārtō et nōnāgēsimō annō scrīpsisse sē dīcit vīxitque quīnquennium posteā; cūius magister Leontīnus Gorgiās centum et septem complēvit annōs neque umquam in suō studiō atque opere cessāvit. Quī, cum ex eō quaererētur, cūr tam diū vellet esse in vītā: 'Nihil habeō,' inquit, 'quod accūsem senectūtem.' Prae-
14 clārum respōnsum et doctō homine dīgnum. Sua enim vitia īnsipientēs et suam culpam in senectūtem cōnferunt; quod nōn faciēbat is, cūius modo mentiōnem fēcī, Ennius:

Sīcut fortis equus, spatiō quī saepe suprēmō
Vīcit Olympia, nunc seniō cōnfectus quiēscit.

unate in having Socrates for his teacher and Aristotle for his pupil.

scrībēns est mortuus. Plato died 347 B.C., *while writing.* But according to another account, he died at a marriage feast to which he had been bidden as a guest. Nauck recalls the fact that Petrarch and Leibnitz also died with the pen in hand.

Īsocratis. Isocrates was a distinguished teacher of rhetoric and oratory, first at Chios, and later in Athens. He was the lifelong friend of Plato and a most devoted admirer of Socrates. Alone of all he dared to appear in mourning after the utterly unpardonable execution of the great philosopher. After the victory of Philip of Macedon in the battle of Chæronea, 338 B.C., Isocrates is said to have been so overcome with grief for the loss of Grecian liberty that he refused all food and died of voluntary starvation. To him, Milton, in his tenth sonnet, refers: —

Broke him, as that dishonest victory
At Chæronea, fatal to liberty,
Killed with report that old man eloquent.

Panathēnāicus. An address in praise of Athens, written for the great Panathenaic festival, in which the less elaborate annual celebration was merged every fourth year.

Leontīnus Gorgiās. *Gorgias of Leontini,* to be distinguished from Gorgias of Athens. He was born about 485 B.C., and lived, Cicero says to 107 years, but the authorities vary between 105 and 108. He was a famous teacher of rhetoric, and numbered Isocrates among his pupils. For his readiness to speak on any theme proposed for discussion, cf. Cic. *De Fin.* II. 1, *Eorum erat iste mos, qui tum sophistae nominabantur: quorum e numero primus est ausus Leontinus Gorgias in conventu poscere quaestionem, id est,*

Equī fortis et vīctōris senectūtī comparat suam. Quem quidem probē meminisse potestis; annō enim ūndēvīcēsimō post ēius mortem hī cōnsulēs, T. Flāminīnus et M'. Acīlius, factī sunt; ille autem Caepiōne et Philippō iterum cōnsulibus mortuus est, cum ego quīnque et sexāgintā annōs nātus lēgem Vocōniam māgnā vōce et bonīs lateribus suāsissem. Annōs septuāgintā nātus (tot enim vīxit Ennius) ita ferēbat duo, quae māxima putantur, onera, paupertātem et senectūtem, ut eīs paene dēlectārī vidērētur.

15 Etenim, cum complector animō, quattuor reperiō causās, cūr senectūs misera videātur: ūnam, quod āvocet ā rēbus gerendīs; alteram, quod corpus faciat īnfīrmius; tertiam, quod prīvet ferē omnibus voluptātibus; quārtam, quod haud procul absit ā morte. Eārum, sī placet, causārum quanta quamque sit iūsta ūna quaeque, videāmus.

VI.

Ā rēbus gerendīs senectūs abstrahit. Quibus? An eīs, quae iuventūte geruntur et vīribus? Nūllaene igitur rēs sunt senīlēs, quae vel īnfīrmīs corporibus animō tamen administrentur? Nihil ergō agēbat Q. Māximus, nihil

iubere dicere, qua de re quis vellet audire.

T. Flāminīnus. Probably the son of the Flamininus mentioned in I. 1.

Caepiōne et Philippō iterum cōnsulibus. Cn. Servilius Caepio and Q. Marcius Philippus were consuls 169 B.C. *iterum* applies only to Philippus, who had been consul for the first time in the year 186 B.C.

lēgem Vocōniam. The law was proposed by the tribune Q. Voconius Saxa, 169 B.C. It provided: 1, That no one enrolled as having 100,000 sesterces should make a woman his heir. 2, That no one enrolled should give in legacies more than would come to the heir or heirs, *i.e.* the heir or heirs should receive at least half the estate. The law was designed to check the extravagance of women by limiting their means, and also to keep the estate, as far as possible, in the possession of the testator's family. — Smith's *Dict. Antiq.* vol. II. s. v. *Voc. Lex.*

L. Paulus, pater tuus, socer optimī virī, fīlī meī? Cēterī senēs, Fabriciī, Curiī, Coruncāniī, cum rem pūblicam cōnsiliō
16 et auctōritāte dēfendēbant, nihil agēbant? Ad Appī Claudī senectūtem accēdēbat etiam, ut caecus esset; tamen is, cum sententia senātūs inclīnāret ad pācem cum Pyrrhō foedusque faciendum, nōn dubitāvit dīcere illa, quae versibus persecūtus est Ennius:

L. Paulus. L. Aemilius Paulus, consul 182 and 168 B.C. and censor 164 B.C., received the surname Macedonicus on account of his victory over Perseus, king of Macedonia, at the battle of Pydna, 168 B.C. He was the father of Scipio Africanus Minor. His death occurred 160 B.C., when he was nearly seventy years of age.

fīlī. M. Porcius Cato, who died 152 B.C., when praetor elect. He married Aemilia, daughter of Paulus.

Fabriciī, Curiī, Coruncāniī. "Such men as Fabricius, Curius, Coruncanius." C. Fabricius Luscinus was consul 282, 278, and 273 B.C. and censor 275 B.C. He was prominent in the war against Pyrrhus, 280–275 B.C., and won universal respect for his unswerving devotion to duty and his high conception of Roman honor, by refusing the proffered bribes of the king and scorning the promised assistance of a traitor who was ready to poison his master Pyrrhus. M'. Curius Dentatus, consul 290, 275, and 274, and censor 272 B.C., ended the war with Pyrrhus by his victory over the latter at Beneventum 275 B.C. Tiberius Coruncanius, consul in 280 and Pontifex Maximus in 252 B.C. (the first plebeian elected to that office), was especially noted as a jurist. He gained fewer military honors than Fabricius or Dentatus, but acquired great fame for his wisdom and skill in expounding the law. These three distinguished Romans are often referred to by Cicero as types of their class. They possessed those qualities which contributed so materially to the nation's success, simplicity of life, integrity of purpose, and unfaltering patriotism. Cf. Hor. *Odes*, I. 12, 40–41.

Appī Claudī. Appius Claudius, surnamed Caecus, the blind, was consul 307 and 296 B.C., but his fame rests principally upon his censorship in 312 B.C., during which he constructed the Appian Way, "the queen of roads," from Rome to Capua, and also built the first aqueduct for the introduction of water to Rome. Pyrrhus, after his victory at Heraclea, 280 B.C., sent Cineas to Rome to make peace. When the senators seemed inclined to accept his terms, Appius Claudius was carried into the senate-house and spoke against the proposed treaty with such power that it was rejected and the war continued. Cicero says of Appius, *Tusc.* V. 38, 112, *in illo suo casu nec privato, nec publico muneri defuisse.*

Pyrrhō. See p. 80.

Quō vōbīs mentēs, rēctae quae stāre solēbant
Antehāc, dēmentēs sēsē flēxēre viāī?

cēteraque gravissimē; nōtum enim vōbīs carmen est; et
tamen ipsīus Appī exstat ōrātiō. Atque haec ille ēgit
septimō decimō annō post alterum cōnsulātum, cum inter
duōs cōnsulātūs annī decem interfuissent cēnsorque ante
superiōrem cōnsulātum fuisset; ex quō intellegitur Pyrrhī
bellō grandem sānē fuisse; et tamen sīc ā patribus accēpi-
17 mus. Nihil igitur adferunt, quī in rē gerendā versārī senec-
tūtem negant, similēsque sunt ut sī quī gubernātōrem in
nāvigandō nihil agere dīcant, cum aliī mālōs scandant, aliī
per forōs cursent, aliī sentīnam exhauriant, ille autem
clāvum tenēns quiētus sedeat in puppī, nōn faciat ea, quae
iuvenēs. At vērō multō māiōra et meliōra facit. Nōn
vīribus aut vēlōcitāte aut celeritāte corporum rēs māgnae
geruntur, sed cōnsiliō, auctōritāte, sententiā; quibus nōn
18 modo nōn orbārī, sed etiam augērī senectūs solet. Nisi
fōrte ego vōbīs, quī et mīles et tribūnus et lēgātus et cōnsul
versātus sum in variō genere bellōrum, cessāre nunc videor,
cum bella nōn gerō. At senātuī, quae sint gerenda, prae-
scrībō et quō modō; Karthāginī male iam diū cōgitantī
bellum multō ante dēnūntiō; dē quā verērī nōn ante dēsi-
19 nam quam illam excīsam esse cōgnōverō. Quam palmam
utinam dī immortālēs, Scīpiō, tibi reservent, ut avī reliquiās
persequāre! cūius ā morte tertius hīc et trīcēsimus annus

tribūnus. Every legion had six military tribunes. Some were elected by the *comitia tributa*, while others were appointed by the commander. Young men of wealth and influence often secured these positions, even though utterly lacking in military experience. This was especially true near the close of the Republic.

lēgātus. The *legati* were staff-officers and were, as a rule, men of senatorial rank, sometimes even ex-consuls. They were second in authority only to the commander-in-chief.

est, sed memoriam illīus virī omnēs excipient annī cōnsequentēs. Annō ante mē cēnsōrem mortuus est, novem annīs post meum cōnsulātum, cum cōnsul iterum mē cōnsule creātus esset. Num igitur, sī ad centēsimum annum vīxisset, senectūtis eum suae paenitēret? Nec enim excursiōne nec saltū nec ēminus hastīs aut comminus gladiīs ūterētur, sed cōnsiliō, ratiōne, sententiā; quae nisi essent in senibus, nōn summum cōnsilium māiōrēs nostrī appellāssent senātum.
20 Apud Lacedaemoniōs quidem eī, quī amplissimum magistrātum gerunt, ut sunt, sīc etiam nōminantur senēs. Quod sī legere aut audīre volētis externa, māximās rēs pūblicās ab adulēscentibus labefactātās, ā senibus sustentātās et restitūtās reperiētis.

Cedo, quī vestram rem pūblicam tantam āmīsistis tam citō?

Sīc enim percontantibus in Naevī poētae Lūdō respondentur et alia et hōc in prīmīs:

Prōveniēbant ōrātōrēs novī, stultī adulēscentulī.

sīc etiam . . . senēs. The Spartan γερουσία, or council of state, contained twenty-eight members, all over sixty years of age. They were appointed for life and were presided over by the two kings. The word *etiam* is added because the Lacedaemonians called the members of their assembly γέροντες, *old men*, while the Romans used a word of similar derivation, *senatores*, but not the simple term *senes*.

Naevī. Cn. Naevius, a younger contemporary of Rome's first poet Livius Andronicus, was born in Campania, of Latin stock. The exact date of his birth is not known, but his literary activity began in 235 B.C. Fragments only of his dramatic compositions, thirty-four comedies and seven tragedies, now remain. His greatest work was a historic poem on the Punic War, in which he had himself been a soldier, and was written in the old Saturnian measure. From the few verses which are still extant it is impossible to form a fair estimate of its literary quality.

novī. "inexperienced." Cf. Byron, *Childe Harold*, Canto II. 84: —

A thousand years scarce serve to form a state;
An hour may lay it in the dust.

Temeritās est vidēlicet flōrentis aetātis, prūdentia senēscentis.

VII.

21 At memoria minuitur. Crēdō, nisi eam exerceās, aut eti-
am sī sīs nātūrā tardior. Themistoclēs omnium cīvium percē-
perat nōmina; num igitur cēnsētis eum, cum aetāte prōcessis-
set, quī Aristīdēs esset, Lȳsimachum salūtāre solitum? Equi-
dem nōn modo eōs nōvī, quī sunt, sed eōrum patrēs etiam
et avōs, nec sepulcra legēns vereor, quod āiunt, nē memoriam
perdam; hīs enim ipsīs legendīs in memoriam redeō mor-
tuōrum. Nec vērō quemquam senem audīvī oblītum, quō
locō thēsaurum obruisset; omnia, quae cūrant, meminērunt,
22 vadimōnia cōnstitūta, quis sibi, cui ipsī dēbeant. Quid?
iūris cōnsultī, quid? pōntificēs, quid? augurēs, quid?

Temeritās . . . senēscentis. Cf. Bacon's essay, *Youth and Age*, "Generally youth is like the first cogitations, not so wise as the second."

Themistoclēs. Themistocles was especially noted for his wonderful memory. That he did not always appreciate this gift may be inferred from Cic. *De Fin.* II. 32, 104, *Themistocles quidem, cum ei Simonides, aut quis alius artem memoriae polliceretur: 'Oblivionis,' inquit, 'mallem; nam memini etiam quae nolo, oblivisci non possum quae volo.'*

Aristīdēs. Aristides the Just, son of Lysimachus and contemporary of Themistocles, was a celebrated Athenian general and statesman. At the instigation of Themistocles, he was banished for a time, but recalled in the sixth year of his exile to assist in defending his country against the invading hosts of Xerxes. Before his ostracism he had fought at Marathon; after his return he took part in the great battles of Salamis and Plataea. By his honesty and fidelity he won the respect of Athens and the neighboring Grecian states. After holding the highest positions of trust and honor, he died at an advanced age, leaving no wealth but his good name.

iūris cōnsultī. Men who expounded the law and gave advice to those desiring it. Coruncanius (VI. 15) was one of the earliest examples of this class. Until the establishment of the Empire, the opinions and writings of the jurisconsults were of a private nature, without binding force; but from the time of Augustus certain men were given the right to interpret the statutes, and their opin-

philosophī senēs quam multa meminērunt! Manent ingenia senibus, modo permaneat studium et industria, neque ea sōlum in clārīs et honōrātīs virīs, sed in vītā etiam prīvātā et quiētā. Sophoclēs ad summam senectūtem tragoediās fēcit; quod propter studium cum rem neglegere familiārem vidērētur, ā fīliīs in iūdicium vocātus est, ut quem ad modum nostrō mōre male rem gerentibus patribus bonīs interdīcī solet, sīc illum quasi dēsipientem ā rē familiārī removērent iūdicēs. Tum senex dīcitur eam fābulam, quam in manibus habēbat et proximē scrīpserat, Oedipum Colōnēum, recitāsse iūdicibus quaesīsseque num illud carmen dēsipientis vidērētur. Quō recitātō sententiīs iūdicum est līberātus.

23 Num igitur hunc, num Homērum, Hēsiodum, Simōnidem,

ions had the authority of law. The Digest of Justinian's code was made up of extracts from the writings of eminent jurisconsults.

Sophoclēs. Sophocles was born at Colonus, near Athens, 495 B.C. He was well endowed by nature and received the best training afforded by the schools of Athens. To intellectual powers of a high order he added the charms of a beautiful person and a genial disposition. At the age of 20 he won the prize in tragic verse over the renowned Aeschylus, who was thirty years his senior, and from that time continued to be a successful competitor in the great literary contests of Greece, winning twenty first prizes and a still greater number of second. His death occurred 405 B.C. Of his numerous works, only seven tragedies have come down to us.

Oedipum Colōnēum. *Oedipus at Colonus.* Banished from Thebes, Oedipus wandered to the grove of the Furies at Colonus and there disappeared from mortal view. For the story, see Class. Dict. s. v. *Oedipus.* It is now believed that the play was written by Sophocles many years before and was only revised and enlarged at this time.

Hēsiodum. Hesiod, commonly assigned to the ninth century B.C., is second only to Homer in point of antiquity. Three works now pass under his name: *Works and Days*, the *Theogony*, and the *Shield of Hercules.*

Simōnidem. A lyric poet, who was born in Ceos, 556 B.C., and died at Syracuse, 469 B.C. His most famous composition is the epitaph on the Spartans who fell at Thermopylae. Cicero, *Tusc.* I. 42, 101, gives this version of it: —

Dic, hospes, Spartae nos te hic vidisse iacentes

Stēsichorum, num, quōs ante dīxī, Īsocratēn, Gorgiān, num philosophōrum prīncipēs, Pȳthagoram, Dēmocritum, num Platōnem, num Xenocratēn, num posteā Zēnōnem, Cleanthem aut eum, quem vōs etiam vīdistis Rōmae, Diogenem Stōicum, coēgit in suīs studiīs obmūtēscere senectūs? An

24 in omnibus studiōrum agitātiō vītae aequālis fuit? Age, ut

Dum sanctis patriae legibus obsequimur.

Stēsichorum. Stesichorus, a lyric poet of Himera in Sicily, 630–550 B.C.

Pȳthagoram. Pythagoras of Samos settled at Crotona in Italy about 529 B.C. and founded what is known as the Italic school of philosophy. He established a sort of religious brotherhood with strict rules of living, and taught the immortality and the transmigration of souls. The exact date of his death, like that of his birth, is unknown.

Dēmocritum. Democritus of Abdera in Thrace was born about 460 B.C. and is said to have reached the age of 104. He was the principal expounder of the atomic theory, which was originated by his friend Leucippus. He is known as the "laughing philosopher." Mayor calls him the last of the "pre-Socratic dogmatists."

Xenocratēn. Xenocrates, who lived from about 396 to 314 B.C., was a pupil of Plato and became, after Speusippus, the leader of the Academic school.

Zēnōnem. Zeno of Citium in Cyprus, founder of the Stoic school, began to teach in Athens, in the painted porch, about 308 B.C. He was probably about 50 years old at that time, and is said to have been 98 at his death.

Cleanthem. Cleanthes was the pupil of Zeno and then his successor as the head of the Stoic school. The accounts of his age vary, but indicate that he lived to be 80 or over.

Diogenem Stōicum. Diogenes of Babylonia, called the Stoic to distinguish him from the famous Cynic of the same name, came to Rome, 155 B.C., with Carneades the Academic and Critolaus the Peripatetic, to ask the remission of a fine imposed upon the Greeks for plundering the city of Oropus after the war with Perseus. Cato violently opposed these men. On the inconsistency here involved, see on *eruditius*, p. 115.

vītae aequālis fuit. Cf. with this Longfellow's *Morituri Salutamus*:—

But why, you ask me, should this tale be told
To men grown old, or who are growing old?
It is too late! Ah, nothing is too late
Till the tired heart shall cease to palpitate.
Cato learned Greek at eighty; Sophocles
Wrote his grand Oedipus, and Simonides

ista dīvīna studia omittāmus, possum nōmināre ex agrō Sabīnō rūsticōs Rōmānōs, vīcīnōs et familiārēs meōs, quibus absentibus numquam ferē ūlla in agrō māiōra opera fīunt, nōn serendīs, nōn percipiendīs, nōn condendīs frūctibus. Quamquam in aliīs minus hōc mīrum est; nēmō enim est tam senex, quī sē annum nōn putet posse vīvere; sed īdem in eīs ēlabōrant, quae sciunt nihil ad sē omnīnō pertinēre:

Serīt arborēs, quae alterī saeclō prōsint,

25 ut ait Statius noster in Synephēbīs. Nec vērō dubitat agricola, quamvīs sit senex, quaerentī, cui serat, respon-

Bore off the prize of verse from his compeers,
When each had numbered more than four score years,
And Theophrastus, at four score and ten,
Had but begun his Characters of Men.
Chaucer, at Woodstock with the nightingales,
At sixty wrote the Canterbury Tales;
Goethe at Weimar, toiling to the last,
Completed Faust when eighty years were past.
These are indeed exceptions; but they show
How far the gulf-stream of our youth may flow
Into the arctic regions of our lives,
Where little else than life itself survives.

'Read Emerson's essay on *Old Age*, in which he says: "And if the life be true and noble, we have quite another sort of seniors than the frowzy, timorous, peevish dotards who are falsely old — namely, the men who fear no city, but by whom cities stand; . . . as blind old Dandolo, elected Doge at 84 years, storming Constantinople at 94, and after the revolt, again victorious, and elected at the age of 96 to the throne of the Eastern Empire, which he declined, and died Doge at 97."

Statius noster. "Our fellow-countryman Statius." Caecilius Statius was an Insubrian Gaul. The exact date of his birth and death cannot be determined. He was, however, a contemporary of Ennius, and was brought to Rome about 194 B.C. by Marcellus, the conqueror of the Insubrians. Through the generosity of his master he received both his freedom and a liberal education, and became the successor of Plautus as a writer of comedies. Like the other authors of his time, he followed Greek models pretty closely. Only fragments of his works now remain.

Synephēbīs. Based upon Menander's Συνέφηβοι, "The Young

dēre: 'Dīs immortālibus, quī mē nōn accipere modo haec ā māiōribus voluērunt, sed etiam posterīs prōdere.'

VIII.

Et melius Caecilius dē sene alterī saeclō prōspiciente quam illud īdem:

Edepol, senectūs, sī nīl quicquam aliud vitī
Adportēs tēcum, cum advenīs, ūnum id sat est,
Quod diū vīvendō multa, quae nōn volt, videt.

Et multa fōrtasse, quae volt! atque in ea, quae nōn volt, saepe etiam adulēscentia incurrit. Illud vērō īdem Caecilius vitiōsius:

Tum equidem in senectā hōc dēputō miserrimum,
Sentīre eā aetāte eumpse esse odiōsum alterī.

26 Iūcundum potius quam odiōsum. Ut enim adulēscentibus bonā indole praeditīs sapientēs senēs dēlectantur leviorque fit senectūs eōrum, quī ā iuventūte coluntur et dīliguntur, sīc adulēscentēs senum praeceptīs gaudent, quibus ad virtūtum studia dūcuntur; nec minus intellegō mē vōbīs quam mihi vōs esse iūcundōs. Sed vidētis, ut senectūs nōn modo languida atque iners nōn sit, vērum etiam sit operōsa et semper agēns aliquid et mōliēns, tāle scīlicet, quāle cūiusque studium in superiōre vītā fuit. Quid? quī etiam addiscunt aliquid? ut et Solōnem versibus glōriantem vidēmus,

Friends." Statius borrowed very freely from Menander (342–291 B.C.), the leading writer of the New Comedy.

Edepol . . . videt. See Supplementary Notes, VIII. 25.

Solōnem. Solon, the famous lawgiver of Athens and one of the seven wise men of Greece, flourished about 600 B.C. Some authorities give his age as 100; others put it at 80.

versibus. Given by Plutarch in his life of Solon, *γηράσκω δ' αἰεὶ πολλὰ διδασκόμενος.*

quī sē cotīdiē aliquid addiscentem dīcit senem fierī, et ego fēcī, quī litterās Graecās senex didicī; quās quidem sīc avidē arripuī quasi diūturnam sitim explēre cupiēns, ut ea ipsa mihi nōta essent, quibus mē nunc exemplīs ūtī vidētis. Quod cum fēcisse Sōcratem in fidibus audīrem, vellem equidem etiam illud (discēbant enim fidibus antīquī), sed in litterīs certē ēlabōrāvī.

IX.

27 Nec nunc quidem vīrēs dēsīderō adulēscentis (is enim erat locus alter dē vitiīs senectūtis), nōn plūs, quam adulēscēns taurī aut elephantī dēsīderābam. Quod est, eō decet ūtī et, quicquid agās, agere prō vīribus. Quae enim vōx potest esse contemptior quam Milōnis Crotōniātae? quī

litterās Graecās. "Greek literature." Cf. Quint. XII. 11, 23; *M. igitur Cato idem summus imperator, idem sapiens, idem orator, idem historiae conditor, idem iuris, idem rerum rusticarum peritissimus fuit; inter tot operas militiae, tantas domi contentiones, rudi saeculo, litteras Graecas aetate iam declinata didicit, ut esset hominibus documento, ea quoque percipi posse, quae senes concupissent.*

Sōcratem. After receiving the usual training given the Athenian youth of that period, Socrates followed the occupation of his father Sophroniscus as a sculptor. He held certain civil offices and served with distinction as a soldier, giving evidence of great courage and wonderful powers of endurance. With an experience thus varied he turned his attention in middle life to philosophy, and from that time sought to teach men in his own peculiar manner the true philosophy of life. Ridiculed and maligned for his new doctrines, he was at last brought to trial on a charge of impiety and condemned by an unrighteous judgment to drink the fatal hemlock. For Socrates' influence on Greek philosophy, see Introduction, p. 18; for a full account of his life, see Smith's *Dictionary of Biography.*

Milōnis. Milo, a pupil of Pythagoras and a celebrated athlete, flourished in the last quarter of the sixth century B.C. He won the victor's crown seven times at the Pythian games and six at the Olympic. For an account of his exploits and his marvelous appetite, see *Class. Dict.* Gellius, XV. 16, relates the story of his tragic death in the forest, after attempting in vain to tear apart an oak log that had been partly cleft by wedges.

cum iam senex esset āthlētāsque sē exercentīs in curriculō vidēret, aspēxisse lacertōs suōs dīcitur inlacrimānsque dīxisse 'At hī quidem mortuī iam sunt.' Nōn vērō tam istī quam tū ipse, nūgātor! neque enim ex tē umquam es nōbilitātus, sed ex lateribus et lacertīs tuīs. Nihil Sex. Aelius tāle, nihil multīs annīs ante Ti. Coruncānius, nihil modo P. Crassus, ā quibus iūra cīvibus praescrībēbantur; quōrum usque ad extrēmum spīritum est prōvēcta prū-
28 dentia. Ōrātor metuō nē languēscat senectūte; est enim mūnus ēius nōn ingenī sōlum, sed laterum etiam et vīrium. Omnīnō canōrum illud in vōce splendēscit etiam nēsciō quō pactō in senectūte, quod equidem adhūc nōn āmīsī, et vidētis annōs. Sed tamen est decōrus senī sermō quiētus et remīssus, facitque per sē ipsa sibi audientiam disertī senis composita et mītis ōrātiō. Quam sī ipse exsequī nequeās, possīs tamen Scīpiōnī praecipere et Laeliō. Quid enim est iūcundius senectūte stīpātā studiīs iuventūtis?
29 An nē illās quidem vīrēs senectūtī relinquēmus, ut adulēscentīs doceat, īnstituat, ad omne officī mūnus īnstruat? quō quidem opere quid potest esse praeclārius? Mihi vērō et Cn. et P. Scīpiōnēs et avī tuī duo, L. Aemilius et P.

Sex. Aelius. Sex. Aelius Paetus, consul 198 and censor 194 B.C., was one of the most distinguished of the early jurists. He wrote a commentary upon the XII. Tables. Cicero, *Brut.* 78, thus speaks of him, *Sex. Aelius, iuris quidem civilis omnium peritissimus, sed etiam ad dicendum paratus.*

P. Crassus. P. Licinius Crassus, consul 205 B.C., was noted for his great legal attainments, on account of which he was chosen Pontifex Maximus. He also held the offices of praetor and censor, and served in the war against Hannibal. As he died in 183 B.C., thirty-three years before the supposed date of this dialogue, *modo* must be understood in a relative sense, "in later times," as opposed to *multis annis ante.*

Cn. et P. Scīpiōnēs. Cn. Cornelius Scipio, uncle of Africanus Maior, was consul in 222 B.C.; P. Cornelius Scipio, father of Africanus, was consul 218 B.C. and commanded the Romans in the battle of the Ticinus. The two brothers served several

Āfricānus, comitātū nōbilium iuvenum fōrtūnātī vidēbantur, nec ūllī bonārum artium magistrī nōn beātī putandī, quamvīs cōnsenuerint vīrēs atque dēfēcerint. Etsī ipsa ista dēfectiō vīrium adulēscentiae vitiīs efficitur saepius quam senectūtis; libīdinōsa enim et intemperāns adulē-
30 scentia effētum corpus trādit senectūtī. Cȳrus quidem apud Xenophōntem eō sermōne, quem moriēns habuit, cum admodum senex esset, negat sē umquam sēnsisse senectūtem suam imbēcilliōrem factam, quam adulēscentia fuisset. Ego L. Metellum meminī puer, quī cum quadrienniō post

years in Spain, but were ultimately defeated and slain by Hasdrubal, 212 B.C.

avī tuī duo. L. Aemilius was his real grandfather, and P. Africanus his grandfather by adoption.

L. Aemilius. Consul 219 and 216 B.C.; fell in the battle of Cannae.

P. Āfricānus. P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus Maior, the conqueror of Hannibal at Zama, 202 B.C.

Etsī . . . senectūtis. With the sentiment of this and the following sentence compare Shakespeare, *As You Like It*, Act II. sc. 3: —

Though I look old, yet am I strong and lusty;
For in my youth I never did apply
Hot and rebellious liquors in my blood;
Nor did not with unbashful forehead woo
The means of weakness and debility;
Therefore my age is as a lusty winter,
Frosty, but kindly.

Also cf. Taylor's *Holy Living*, II. sec. 2: "And Antipater, by his reproach of the old glutton Demades, well expressed the baseness of his sin, saying that Demades, now old, and always a glutton, was like a spent sacrifice, nothing left of him but his belly and his tongue; all the man besides is gone."

Cȳrus: Cyrus the Elder, founder of the Persian Empire, captured Babylon 538 B.C. and released the Jews from captivity.

apud Xenophōntem. In the *Cyropaedia*, VIII. 7, 6, a philosophical romance on the education of Cyrus. Xenophon, pupil of Socrates, and historical writer, is best known as the leader of the Greeks in the famous retreat of the Ten Thousand.

L. Metellum. L. Caecilius Metellus, consul 251 and 247 B.C. In his first consulship he defeated the Carthaginians at Panormus. He was made Pontifex Maximus 243 B.C., and two years later rescued the Palladium from the burning temple of Vesta, in honor of which service his statue was placed on the Capitol.

alterum cōnsulātum pōntifex māximus factus esset, vīgintī et duōs annōs eī sacerdōtiō praefuit, ita bonīs esse vīribus extrēmō tempore aetātis, ut adulēscentiam nōn requīreret. Nihil necesse est mihi dē mē ipsō dīcere, quamquam est id quidem senīle aetātīque nostrae concēditur.

X.

31 Vidētisne, ut apud Homērum saepissimē Nestor dē virtūtibus suīs praedicet? Tertiam iam enim aetātem hominum vidēbat, nec erat eī verendum, nē vēra praedicāns dē sē nimis vidērētur aut īnsolēns aut loquāx. Etenim, ut ait Homērus, 'ex ēius linguā melle dulcior fluēbat ōrātiō,' quam ad suāvitātem nūllīs egēbat corporis vīribus. Et tamen dux ille Graeciae nusquam optat, ut Āiācis similīs habeat decem, sed ut Nestoris; quod sī sibi acciderit, nōn dubitat, quīn brevī sit Trōia peritūra. Sed redeō ad mē. Quārtum agō annum et octōgēsimum; vellem equidem idem possem

apud Homērum. *Il.* I. 260; VII. 124 ff.; XI. 668 ff.

Nestor. Son of Neleus and king of Pylos, famous among the Grecian heroes at Troy for his wisdom and eloquence.

ut ait Homērus. Cf. *Il.* I. 315–322, Bryant's translation: —

But now uprose
Nestor, the master of persuasive speech,
The clear-toned Pylian orator, whose tongue
Dropped words more sweet than honey. He had seen
Two generations that grew up and lived
With him on sacred Pylos pass away,
And now he ruled the third. With prudent words
He thus addressed the assembly of the chiefs.

Āiācis . . . decem. Cf. *Il.* II. 371–4, Pope's translation: —

Oh! would the gods, in love to Greece, decree
But ten such sages as they grant in thee!
Such wisdom soon should Priam's force destroy;
And soon should fall the haughty towers of Troy.

Ajax, son of Telamon, king of Salamis, was second only to Achilles among the Greeks in strength and valor.

glōriārī, quod Cȳrus, sed tamen hōc queō dīcere, nōn mē
quidem eīs esse vīribus, quibus aut mīles bellō Pūnicō aut
quaestor eōdem bellō aut cōnsul in Hispāniā fuerim aut
quadrienniō post, cum tribūnus mīlitāris dēpūgnāvī apud
Thermopylās M'. Glabriōne cōnsule; sed tamen, ut vōs
vidētis, nōn plānē mē ēnervāvit, nōn adflīxit senectūs, nōn
cūria vīrēs meās dēsīderat, nōn rōstra, nōn amīcī, nōn clien-
tēs, nōn hospitēs. Nec enim umquam sum adsēnsus veterī
illī laudātōque prōverbiō, quod monet 'mātūrē fierī senem,
sī diū velīs senex esse.' Ego vērō mē minus diū senem esse
māllem quam esse senem, ante quam essem. Itaque nēmō
adhūc convenīre mē voluit, cui fuerim occupātus. At
33 minus habeō vīrium quam vestrūm utervīs. Nē vōs quidem
T. Pontī centuriōnis vīrēs habētis; num idcircō est ille

cōnsul in Hispāniā. In 195 B.C.

Thermopylās . . . cōnsule. M'. Acilius Glabrio, consul 191 B.C., gained a signal victory over Antiochus, king of Syria, on the famous battle ground of Thermopylae in Greece. Cato contributed very largely to the success of the Romans by forcing his way over the mountains and attacking the enemy in the rear. He was publicly thanked by the consul, and sent to Rome with news of the victory. See Liddell's *Hist. of Rome*, pp. 435, 436.

cūria . . . rōstra. Put by metonymy for the senate and people. *rostra* (plural of *rostrum*) was the name given to the platform in the Forum from which speakers addressed the people. It was so called from the ships' beaks, taken from the Antiates in the Latin War, 338 B.C., with which it was adorned. Cicero, *Brut.* 20, 80, says that Cato addressed the people the last year of his life, *qui* (*Cato*) *annos quinque et octoginta natus excessit e vita, cum quidem eo ipso anno contra Ser. Galbam ad populum summa contentione dixisset, quam etiam orationem scriptam reliquit.*

clientēs. It was the custom for plebeians to ally themselves to powerful patricians. The client remained free, but received protection and assistance from his *patronus*, and in return followed and defended him in war. The Lusitanians chose Cato as their patron, and it was in their behalf that he delivered the oration against the pro-praetor Ser. Galba.

T. Pontī centuriōnis. Probably some centurion famous for his strength. The men who held this office were usually chosen on account of their size and strength.

praestantior? Moderātiō modo vīrium adsit, et tantum, quantum potest quisque nītātur, nē ille nōn māgnō dēsīderiō tenēbitur vīrium. Olympiae per stadium ingressus esse Milō dīcitur, cum umerīs sustinēret bovem. Utrum igitur hās corporis an Pȳthagorae tibi mālīs vīrēs ingenī darī? Dēnique istō bonō ūtāre, dum adsit, cum absit, nē requīrās, nisi fōrte adulēscentēs pueritiam, paululum aetāte prōgressī adulēscentiam dēbent requīrere. Cursus est certus aetātis et ūna via nātūrae, eaque simplex, suaque cuique partī aetātis tempestīvitās est data, ut et īnfīrmitās puerōrum et ferōcitās iuvenum et gravitās iam cōnstantis aetātis et senectūtis mātūritās nātūrāle quiddam habeat, quod suō
34 tempore percipī dēbeat. Audīre tē arbitror, Scīpiō, hospes tuus avītus Masinissa quae faciat hodiē nōnāgintā nātus annōs; cum ingressus iter pedibus sit, in equum omnīnō nōn ascendere; cum autem equō, ex equō nōn dēscendere; nūllō imbrī, nūllō frīgore addūcī, ut capite opertō sit, summam esse in eō siccitātem corporis, itaque omnia exsequī rēgis officia et mūnera. Potest igitur exercitātiō et temperantia etiam in senectūte cōnservāre aliquid prīstinī rōboris.

Olympiae. Olympia was a district in Elis in Peloponnesus, where the Olympian games were held.

Masinissa. Masinissa, king of Numidia, was the guest-friend of Scipio's adoptive grandfather, Scipio Africanus Maior. At the outbreak of the Second Punic War, the Numidian prince, who was then quite young, prevailed upon his father, Gala, to take up arms against the Romans. He fought with success in Spain, and aided in the overthrow of Gnaeus and Publius Scipio, 212 B.C. But a few years later, he deserted the Carthaginians, formed an alliance with Scipio, and urged him to invade Africa. The victory of the Romans at Zama was made more certain by the valor of Masinissa and his wild cavalry, and in return for the valuable services which he rendered, he was securely established upon the throne of Numidia, reigning over the entire country from Mauritania to Cyrene. From that time Masinissa remained the foe of Carthage, but he did not live to see its downfall, as he died 148 B.C., at the age of 90.

XI.

Nōn sunt in senectūte vīrēs. Nē postulantur quidem
vīrēs ā senectūte. Ergō et lēgibus et īnstitūtīs vacat aetās
nostra mūneribus eīs, quae nōn possunt sine vīribus susti-
nērī. Itaque nōn modo, quod nōn possumus, sed nē quan-
35 tum possumus quidem cōgimur. At multī ita sunt inbē-
cillī senēs, ut nūllum officī aut omnīnō vītae mūnus exsequī
possint. At id quidem nōn proprium senectūtis vitium est,
sed commūne valētūdinis. Quam fuit inbēcillus P. Āfricānī
fīlius, is quī tē adoptāvit, quam tenuī aut nūllā potius
valētūdine! Quod nī ita fuisset, alterum illud exstitisset
lūmen cīvitātis; ad paternam enim māgnitūdinem animī
doctrīna ūberior accesserat. Quid mīrum igitur in senibus,
sī īnfīrmī sint aliquandō, cum id nē adulēscentēs quidem
effugere possint? Resistendum, Laelī et Scīpiō, senectūtī
est, ēiusque vitia dīligentiā compēnsanda sunt; pūgnandum
36 tamquam contrā morbum sīc contrā senectūtem, habenda
ratiō valētūdinis, ūtendum exercitātiōnibus modicīs, tantum
cibī et pōtiōnis adhibendum, ut reficiantur vīrēs, nōn oppri-
mantur. Nec vērō corporī sōlum subveniendum est, sed
mentī atque animō multō magis; nam haec quoque, nisi
tamquam lūminī oleum īnstīllēs, exstinguuntur senectūte.
Et corpora quidem exercitātiōnum dēfatīgātiōne ingravē-

mūneribus eīs. Under the Republic, the legal period during which Roman citizens were under obligation to serve in the army was between the ages of 17 and 46. In cases of great emergency, however, they might be called out for military service when still older. See Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities*, s.v. *Exercitus*.

fīlius. He bore his father's name, Publius Cornelius Scipio. Cf. Cic. *De Off.* I. 33; also *Brut.* 19, 77, *filius quidem eius, is qui hunc minorem Scipionem a Paulo adoptavit, si corpore valuisset, in primis habitus esset disertus; indicant cum oratiunculae tum historia quaedam Graeca scripta dulcissime.*

scunt, animī autem exercendō levantur. Nam quōs ait Caecilius 'cōmicōs stultōs senēs,' hōs sīgnificat crēdulōs, oblīviōsōs, dissolūtōs, quae vitia sunt nōn senectūtis, sed inertis, īgnāvae, somnīculōsae senectūtis. Ut petulantia, ut libīdō magis est adulēscentium quam senum, nec tamen omnium adulēscentium, sed nōn probōrum, sīc ista senīlis stultitia, quae dēlīrātiō appellārī solet, senum levium est,
37 nōn omnium. Quattuor rōbustōs fīliōs, quīnque fīliās, tantam domum, tantās clientēlās Appius regēbat et caecus et senex; intentum enim animum tamquam arcum habēbat nec languēscēns succumbēbat senectūtī. Tenēbat nōn modo auctōritātem, sed etiam imperium in suōs: metuēbant servī, verēbantur līberī, cārum omnēs habēbant; vigēbat in illā
38 domō mōs patrius et disciplīna. Ita enim senectūs honesta est, sī sē ipsa dēfendit, sī iūs suum retinet, sī nēminī ēmancipāta est, sī usque ad ūltimum spīritum dominātur in suōs. Ut enim adulēscentem in quō est senīle aliquid, sīc senem in quō est aliquid adulēscentis probō; quod quī sequitur, corpore senex esse poterit, animō numquam erit. Septimus mihi liber Orīginum est in manibus; omnia

regēbat. The power of the household father was largely due to his priestly character. He inherited from his predecessor the supervision of the ancestral worship, and was amenable only to the gods for the character of his domestic government. The father's power extended over all the persons and property of the patriarchal family. — Morey's *Roman Law*, p. 5. But the authority of the father, though at first unlimited, was afterwards restricted, from time to time, both by law and custom, until, under the Empire, it finally lost most of its harsh and arbitrary features.

Orīginum. The first book covered the period of the kings; the second and third gave the origin and early history of the Italian states; the fourth and fifth contained the history of the First and Second Punic Wars; the sixth and seventh books brought the history down to the last year of Cato's life. The name of the entire work, *Origines*, is probably due to the character of the second and third books. For its historical value, see Introduction, p. 35.

antīquitātis monumenta colligō; causārum inlūstrium, quāscumque dēfendī, nunc cum māximē cōnficiō ōrātiōnēs; iūs augurium, pōntificium, cīvīle tractō; multum etiam Graecīs litterīs ūtor Pȳthagorēōrumque mōre exercendae memoriae grātiā, quid quōque diē dīxerim, audierim, ēgerim, commemorō vesperī. Hae sunt exercitātiōnēs ingenī, haec curricula mentis, in hīs dēsūdāns atque ēlabōrāns corporis vīrēs nōn māgnō opere dēsīderō. Adsum amīcīs, veniō in senātum frequēns ūltrōque adferō rēs multum et diū cōgitātās eāsque tueor animī, nōn corporis vīribus. Quās sī exsequī nequīrem, tamen mē lectulus meus oblectāret ea ipsa cōgitantem, quae iam agere nōn possem; sed ut possim, facit ācta vīta. Semper enim in hīs studiīs labōribusque vīventī nōn intellegitur quandō obrēpat senectūs. Ita sēnsim sine sēnsū aetās senēscit nec subitō frangitur, sed diūturnitāte exstinguitur.

ōrātiōnēs. For Cicero's opinion of Cato as an orator, see *Brut.* 17, 65, *Quis illo gravior in laudando? acerbior in vituperando? in sententiis argutior? in docendo edisserendoque subtilior? Refertae sunt orationes amplius centum quinquaginta, quas quidem adhuc invenerim, et legerim, et verbis et rebus inlustribus. Omnes oratoriae virtutes in eis reperientur.* For Cato's famous definition of an orator, see Quint. XII. I. 1, *Sit ergo nobis orator, quem constituimus, is, qui a M. Catone finitur, 'vir bonus dicendi peritus'; verum, id quod et ille posuit prius, et ipsa natura potius ac maius est, utique 'vir bonus.'*

Graecīs litterīs. See note on p. 48.

ācta vīta. "Past life." Cf. Bryant's beautiful poem *The Old Man's Counsel:* —

Wisely, my son, while yet thy days are long,
And this fair change of seasons passes slow,
Gather and treasure up the good they yield —
All that they teach of virtue, of pure thoughts
And kind affections, reverence for thy God
And for thy brethren; so when thou shalt come
Into these barren years, thou may'st not bring
A mind unfurnished and a withered heart.

XII.

39 Sequitur tertia vituperātiō senectūtis, quod eam carēre dīcunt voluptātibus. Ō praeclārum mūnus aetātis, siquidem id aufert ā nōbīs, quod est in adulēscentiā vitiōsissimum! Accipite enim, optimī adulēscentēs, veterem ōrātiōnem Archȳtae Tarentīnī, māgnī in prīmīs et praeclārī virī, quae mihi trādita est, cum essem adulēscēns Tarentī cum Q. Māximō. Nūllam capitāliōrem pestem quam voluptātem corporis hominibus dīcēbat ā nātūrā datam, cūius voluptātis avidae libīdinēs temerē et ecfrēnātē ad potien-
40 dum incitārentur. Hinc patriae prōditiōnēs, hinc rērum pūblicārum ēversiōnēs, hinc cum hostibus clandestīna colloquia nāscī; nūllum dēnique scelus, nūllum malum facinus esse, ad quod suscipiendum nōn libīdō voluptātis impelleret; stupra vērō et adulteria et omne tāle flāgitium nūllīs excitārī aliīs inlecebrīs nisi voluptātis; cumque hominī sīve nātūra sīve quis deus nihil mente praestābilius dedisset, huic dīvīnō mūnerī ac dōnō nihil tam esse inimīcum
41 quam voluptātem; nec enim libīdine dominante temperantiae locum esse, neque omnīnō in voluptātis rēgnō virtūtem posse cōnsistere. Quod quō magis intellegī posset, fingere animō iubēbat tantā incitātum aliquem voluptāte corporis, quanta percipī posset māxima; nēminī cēnsēbat fore dubium, quīn tam diū, dum ita gaudēret, nihil agitāre

Archȳtae Tarentīnī. Archytas, a distinguished soldier and statesman of Tarentum, flourished about 400 B.C. He was a follower of Pythagoras, a friend of Plato, and eminent for his attainments in mathematics, astronomy, and philosophy. Horace refers to him, *Odes*, I. 28.

libīdine . . . temperantiae . . . esse. Cf. Taylor's *Holy Living*, II. 2: "Sobriety is the bridle of the passions of desire, and Temperance is the bit and curb of that bridle, a restraint put into a man's mouth"; also *De Off.*, I. 39, *praestantissimum est appetitum obtemperare rationi.*

mente, nihil ratiōne, nihil cōgitātiōne cōnsequī posset. Quōcircā nihil esse tam dētestābile tamque pestiferum quam voluptātem, siquidem ea, cum māior esset atque longīnquior, omne animī lūmen exstingueret. Haec cum C. Pontiō Samnīte, patre ēius, ā quō Caudīnō proeliō Sp. Postumius, T. Veturius cōnsulēs superātī sunt, locūtum Archȳtam Nearchus Tarentīnus, hospes noster, quī in amīcitiā populī Rōmānī permānserat, sē ā māiōribus nātū accēpisse dīcēbat, cum quidem eī sermōnī interfuisset Platō Athēniēnsis, quem Tarentum vēnisse L. Camillō, Ap.
42 Claudiō cōnsulibus reperiō. Quōrsus hōc? Ut intellegerētis, sī voluptātem āspernārī ratiōne et sapientiā nōn possēmus, māgnam habendam esse senectūtī grātiam, quae efficeret, ut id nōn libēret, quod nōn oportēret. Impedit enim cōnsilium voluptās, ratiōnī inimīca est, mentis, ut ita dīcam, praestringit oculōs nec habet ūllum cum virtūte

C. Pontiō Samnīte. C. Pontius Herennius was the father of C. Pontius Telesinus, who defeated the Romans in the Second Samnite War, 321 B.C., at Caudium in Samnium, and sent them under the yoke. For an account of this famous battle, and for the defeat and death of Pontius at the close of the war, see Liddell, pp. 214, 215.

Sp. Postumius. Sp. Postumius Albinus was consul 334 and 321 B.C.

T. Veturius. T. Veturius Calvinus was twice the colleague of Postumius in the consulship. After their disgrace at Caudium, a dictator was appointed.

Nearchus. A Pythagorean philosopher, in whose home Cato was entertained at Tarentum, after the recapture of the city in 209 B.C. From him Cato learned the principles of Pythagoras' philosophy.

in amīcitiā . . . permānserat. The city was betrayed and delivered to Hannibal by those who were hostile to the Romans, 212 B.C. See on IV. 10 and 11.

cum quidem . . . Athēniēnsis. This clause is to be taken with *locutum*. Plato visited Italy 361 B.C., but it is hardly probable that he went again at the time here indicated, 349 B.C., for he was then about eighty years old.

L. Camillō . . . cōnsulibus. L. Furius Camillus, a descendant of the great Camillus, and Appius Claudius Crassinus were consuls in the year 349 B.C.

commercium. Invītus fēcī, ut fortissimī virī T. Flāminīnī frātrem, L. Flāminīnum, ē senātū ēicerem septem annīs post, quam cōnsul fuisset, sed notandam putāvī libīdinem. Ille enim, cum esset cōnsul in Galliā, exōrātus in convīviō ā scortō est, ut secūrī ferīret aliquem eōrum, quī in vinculīs essent, damnātī reī capitālis. Hīc Titō frātre suō cēnsōre, quī proximus ante mē fuerat, ēlapsus est; mihi vērō et Flaccō neutiquam probārī potuit tam flāgitiōsa et tam perdita libīdō, quae cum probrō prīvātō coniungeret imperī dēdecus.

XIII.

43 Saepe audīvī ex māiōribus nātū, quī sē porrō puerōs ā senibus audīsse dīcēbant, mīrārī solitum C. Fabricium, quod, cum apud rēgem Pyrrhum lēgātus esset, audīsset ā Thessalō

T. Flāminīnī. See p. 46.

L. Flāminīnum. L. Quinctius Flamininus served as a naval commander under his brother in the war against Philip of Macedon, and was consul 192 B.C. He had Cisalpine Gaul as his province, and carried on war against the Boii.

septem annīs. Cato was censor 184 B.C., so that *septem annis* must be understood as seven full years.

Titō . . . fuerat. 189 B.C. The censors were chosen every five years.

Flaccō. L. Valerius Flaccus, colleague of Cato in his consulship 195 B.C., and in the censorship 184.

apud . . . Pyrrhum. "At the court of King Pyrrhus." Pyrrhus, claiming descent from the warlike Achilles, was born 318 B.C., and became the king of Epirus in the year 295 B.C. He was a brave soldier, a generous foe, and one of the most skillful generals that the Romans ever met. His invasion of Italy was due to a request from the people of Tarentum to aid them in their struggle against Rome. In 280 B.C. he gained a victory at Heraclea, but he could do nothing more than temporarily check the progress of the indomitable Romans. In 278 he went to Sicily, and aided the people against Carthage. Returning to Italy two years later, he was beaten in the decisive battle of Beneventum, and soon afterward he withdrew from Italian soil. While engaged in war with Argos, 272 B.C., he was killed by a tile thrown from a house-top by the hand of a woman, — a most inglorious death for so brave a soldier and so brilliant a commander.

Cīneā esse quendam Athēnīs, quī sē sapientem profitērētur, eumque dīcere omnia, quae facerēmus, ad voluptātem esse referenda. Quod ex eō audientīs M'. Curium et Ti. Coruncānium optāre solitōs, ut id Samnītibus ipsīque Pyrrhō persuādērētur, quō facilius vincī possent, cum sē voluptātibus dedissent. Vīxerat M'. Curius cum P. Deciō, quī quīn-

Cīneā. Cineas the Thessalian was the chief adviser of King Pyrrhus. He had been a pupil of Demosthenes, and was himself an orator of marked ability. Pyrrhus was very materially aided in his plans for conquest by the wise counsels and skillful diplomacy of Cineas. For his embassy to Rome, see on *Appi Claudi*, p. 61. He probably died while Pyrrhus was in Sicily, as we hear no more of him after that time.

quendam Athēnīs. Epicurus (341–270 B.C.) began his teaching about 306 B.C., in Athens, and became the founder of the philosophical school called from his name. In physics, he adopted, for the most part, the atomic theory of Democritus, which is set forth at considerable length in the *De Natura Rerum* of Lucretius. In ethics he taught that pleasure is the highest good, but he places permanent tranquillity above momentary gratification, and prefers mental pleasures to bodily, as better in themselves and more enduring. "The wise man, *i.e.* the virtuous man, is happy because he is free from the fears of the gods and of death, because he has learned to moderate his passions and desires, because he knows how to estimate and compare pleasures and pains, so as to secure the largest amount of the former with the least of the latter." — Mayor. In criticising Epicurus, Cicero followed the popular interpretation of his philosophy, understanding "pleasure" in a bodily sense, while, as a matter of fact, Epicurus' doctrine and life were based upon a higher and purer conception of the term.

P. Deciō. P. Decius Mus, consul 312, 308, 297, 295 B.C., sacrificed his life in the battle of Sentinum, in the Third Samnite War, in order to bring victory to the Roman arms. By his bold act the soldiers were inspired with new courage, the day was won, and the power of Samnium broken forever. See Liddell, p. 213. Cf. Liv. X. 28, 13, *datum hoc nostro generi est ut luendis periculis publicis piacula simus; iam ego mecum hostium legiones mactandas Telluri et deis manibus dabo.* The father of this Decius, also named P. Decius Mus, sacrificed his life in like manner in the Latin War at the battle near Mt. Vesuvius, 340 B.C. Cicero, in the Tusculan Disputations, mentions a third Decius, who followed the example of his father and grandfather, and devoted his life, in the battle of Asculum, in the war with Pyrrhus, 279 B.C., *Tusc.* I. 37, 89, *quae quidem*

quenniō ante eum cōnsulem sē prō rē pūblicā quārtō cōnsulātū dēvōverat; nōrat eundem Fabricius, nōrat Coruncānius; quī cum ex suā vītā, tum ex ēius, quem dīcō, Decī, factō iūdicābant esse profectō aliquid nātūrā pulchrum atque praeclārum, quod suā sponte peterētur, quodque sprētā et contemptā voluptāte optimus quisque sequerētur.

44 Quōrsus igitur tam multa dē voluptāte? Quia nōn modo vituperātiō nūlla, sed etiam summa laus senectūtis est, quod ea voluptātēs nūllās māgnoperē dēsīderat. Caret epulīs exstrūctīsque mēnsīs et frequentibus pōculīs; caret ergō etiam vīnulentiā et crūditāte et īnsomniīs. Sed sī aliquid dandum est voluptātī, quoniam ēius blanditiīs nōn facile obsistimus (dīvīnē enim Platō 'ēscam malōrum' appellat voluptātem, quod eā vidēlicet hominēs capiantur ut piscēs), quamquam immoderātīs epulīs caret senectūs, modicīs tamen convīviīs dēlectārī potest. C. Duellium M. fīlium, quī Poenōs classe prīmus dēvīcerat, redeuntem ā cēnā senem saepe vidēbam puer; dēlectābātur cēreō fūnālī et tībīcine, quae sibi nūllō exemplō prīvātus sūmpserat;

si timeretur . . . non cum Latinis decertans pater Decius, cum Etruscis filius, cum Pyrrho nepos, se hostium telis obiecissent. The story of the grandson, however, is not very well authenticated; see Smith's *Dict. of Biog.*

vīnulentiā. Cf. Juvenal, *Sat.* I. 142–144, in regard to over-indulgence at banquets. *Poena tamen praesens, . . . Hinc subitae mortes atque intestata senectus.*

ēscam malōrum. Cf. Plato's *Timaeus*, 69, "pleasure, the greatest incitement to evil."

C. Duellium. Duellius gained a signal victory over the Carthaginian fleet near Mylae, on the coast of Sicily, 260 B.C. The famous *corvi*, grappling bridges, were used in this fight. The *columna rostrata* was erected in the Forum to commemorate the victory. A later version of the inscription upon the column is still extant. For the battle, see Liddell, pp. 269, 270.

sūmpserat. Cf. Florus, I. 18, 10, *Cum Duellius imperator, non contentus unius diei triumpho, per vitam omnem, ubi a cena rediret, praelucere funalia et praecinere sibi tibias iussit, quasi cotidie triumpharet.*

45 tantum licentiae dabat glōria. Sed quid ego aliōs? Ad mē ipsum iam revertar. Prīmum habuī semper sodālīs. Sodālitātēs autem mē quaestōre cōnstitūtae sunt sacrīs Īdaeīs Māgnae Mātris acceptīs. Epulābar igitur cum sodālibus omnīnō modicē, sed erat quīdam fervor aetātis; quā prōgrediente omnia fīunt in diēs mītiōra. Neque enim ipsōrum convīviōrum dēlectātiōnem voluptātibus corporis magis quam coetū amīcōrum et sermōnibus mētiēbar. Bene enim māiōrēs accubitiōnem epulārem amīcōrum, quia vītae coniūnctiōnem habēret, convīvium nōmināvērunt, melius quam Graecī, quī hōc idem tum compōtātiōnem, tum concēnātiōnem vocant, ut, quod in eō genere minimum est, id māximē probāre videantur.

XIV.

46 Ego vērō propter sermōnis dēlectātiōnem tempestīvīs quoque convīviīs dēlector, nec cum aequālibus sōlum, quī paucī admodum restant, sed cum vestrā etiam aetāte atque vōbīscum, habeōque senectūtī māgnam grātiam, quae mihi

Reid suggests that this honor was probably conferred upon him by the *comitia tributa*, and not assumed on his own authority.

Sodālitātēs. "Clubs, societies." These brotherhoods, sometimes for religious purposes, sometimes for political, combined banquets and social features with their other duties. Their origin belongs to the earliest years of Rome, and was probably based upon kinship, union through the same clan or *gens*. The text means that new societies were founded at this time, not that the institution itself first became known.

quaestōre. In the year 204 B.C.

sacrīs Īdaeīs . . . acceptīs. The worship of Cybele, *magna mater deorum*, was introduced into Rome, 204 B.C., when the image of the goddess was brought from Pessinus in Phrygia, and placed in the temple of Victory, on the Palatine hill. The sacred statue was received by P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica, chosen for the service because of his purity of character. The Megalesian festival and games were established in honor of Cybele, and observed in April. Cf. Ov. *Fast.* IV. 249 ff.

quā . . . fīunt. Cf. Hor. *Ep.* II. 2, 211.
Lenior et melior fis, accedente senecta?

sermōnis aviditātem auxit, pōtiōnis et cibī sustulit. Quod sī quem etiam ista dēlectant (nē omnīnō bellum indīxisse videar voluptātī, cūius est fōrtasse quīdam nātūrālis modus), nōn intellegō nē in istīs quidem ipsīs voluptātibus carēre sēnsū senectūtem. Mē vērō et magisteria dēlectant ā māiōribus īnstitūta et is sermō, quī mōre māiōrum ā summō adhibētur in pōculō, et pōcula, sīcut in Symposiō Xenophōntis est, minūta atque rōrantia et refrīgerātiō aestāte et vicissim aut sōl aut īgnis hībernus; quae quidem etiam in Sabīnīs persequī soleō convīviumque vīcīnōrum cotīdiē compleō, quod ad multam noctem, quam māximē possumus,
47 variō sermōne prōdūcimus. At nōn est voluptātum tanta quasi tītillātiō in senibus. Crēdō, sed nē dēsīderātiō quidem; nihil autem est molestum, quod nōn dēsīderēs. Bene Sophoclēs, cum ex eō quīdam iam adfectō aetāte quaereret, ūterēturne rēbus veneriīs: 'Dī meliōra!' inquit; 'libenter vērō istinc sīcut ab dominō agrestī ac furiōsō profūgī.' Cupidīs enim rērum tālium odiōsum fōrtasse et molestum est carēre, satiātīs vērō et explētīs iūcundius est carēre quam fruī. Quamquam nōn caret is, quī nōn dēsīderat;
48 ergō hōc nōn dēsīderāre dīcō esse iūcundius. Quod sī istīs ipsīs voluptātibus bona aetās fruitur libentius, prīmum parvulīs fruitur rēbus, ut dīximus, deinde eīs, quibus senectūs etiamsī nōn abundē potītur, nōn omnīnō caret. Ut Tur-

magisteria. "Presidencies," referring to the office of master of the feast, *magister*, *rex*, or *arbiter bibendi*, corresponding to the Greek *συμποσίαρχος*. A member of the company was chosen by lot to preside at the banquet and lead in the merry-making. Reid refers *magisteria* to officers elected annually by the *sodalicia* to attend to the club-dinners, and having more important duties than those of the *arbiter bibendi*.

Symposiō. The Banquet of the Philosophers, an imaginary dialogue between Socrates and his friends at a dinner given by the Athenian Callias.

Turpiōne. Lucius Ambivius Turpio was the most noted actor and

piōne Ambiviō magis dēlectātur, quī in prīmā caveā spectat,
dēlectātur tamen etiam, quī in ūltimā, sīc adulēscentia
voluptātēs propter intuēns magis fōrtasse laetātur, sed
dēlectātur etiam senectūs procul eās spectāns tantum,
49 quantum sat est. At illa quantī sunt, animum tamquam
ēmeritīs stīpendiīs libīdinis, ambitiōnis, contentiōnis, inimī-
citiārum, cupiditātum omnium sēcum esse sēcumque, ut
dīcitur, vīvere! Sī vērō habet aliquod tamquam pābulum
studī atque doctrīnae, nihil est ōtiōsā senectūte iūcundius.
Vidēbāmus in studiō dīmētiendī paene caelī atque terrae
C. Galum, familiārem patris tuī, Scīpiō. Quotiēns illum
lūx noctū aliquid dēscrībere ingressum, quotiēns nox op-
50 pressit, cum māne coepisset! Quam dēlectābat eum dēfec-
tiōnēs sōlis et lūnae multō ante nōbīs praedīcere! Quid in
leviōribus studiīs, sed tamen acūtīs? Quam gaudēbat bellō
suō Pūnicō Naevius! quam Truculentō Plautus, quam

theatrical manager of Cato's time. He and his company brought out the comedies of Terence.

ēmeritīs stīpendiīs. A metaphor from military life; an old man is likened to a soldier who has completed his service. Compare this with the following from Emerson's *Old Age:* —

"We live in youth amid this rabble of passions, quite too tender, quite too hungry and irritable. Later, the interiors of mind and heart open, and supply grander motives. We learn the fatal compensations that wait on every act. Then, — one after another, — this riotous, time-destroying crew disappear." . . . "When life has been well spent, age is a loss of what it can well spare, — muscular strength, organic instincts, gross bulk, and works that belong to these. But the central wisdom, which was old in infancy, is young in fourscore years, and, dropping off obstructions, leaves in happy subjects the mind purified and wise."

Galum. C. Sulpicius Galus, consul, 166 B.C., was noted for his literary culture, and especially for his skill as an astronomer. Before the battle of Pydna, 168 B.C., he predicted an eclipse of the moon, and thus allayed the superstitious fears of the soldiers.

Plautus. T. Maccius Plautus was born about 254 B.C., at Sarsina, in Umbria, and died 184 B.C. But little is known of his life. He began to write for the stage when about thirty years of age, and produced, if the accounts be true, a large number of

Pseudolō! Vīdī etiam senem Līvium; quī, cum sex annīs ante quam ego nātus sum fābulam docuisset Centōne Tuditānōque cōnsulibus, usque ad adulēscentiam meam prōcessit aetāte. Quid dē P. Licinī Crassī et pōntificiī et cīvīlis iūris studiō loquar aut dē hūius P. Scīpiōnis quī hīs paucīs diēbus pōntifex māximus factus est? Atque eōs omnīs, quōs commemorāvī, hīs studiīs flagrantīs senēs vīdimus. M. vērō Cethēgum, quem rēctē 'Suādae medullam' dīxit Ennius, quantō studiō exercērī in dīcendō vidēbāmus etiam senem! Quae sunt igitur epulārum aut lūdōrum aut scortōrum voluptātēs cum hīs voluptātibus comparandae? Atque haec quidem studia doctrīnae, quae quidem prūdentibus et bene īnstitūtīs pariter cum aetāte crēscunt, ut honestum illud Solōnis sit, quod ait versiculō quōdam, ut ante dīxī,

comedies; but of the 130 plays ascribed to him, only twenty-one are regarded as certainly genuine. Of these, twenty are still extant. They are all from Greek sources and belong to the earliest period in Roman literature. Truculentus (the Grumbler), and Pseudolus (the name of a slave), are two of his comedies.

Līvium. Livius Andronicus, a Greek born in Tarentum, about 285 B.C., was taken prisoner by the Romans and became the slave possibly of M. Livius Salinator. Subsequently he was set free and began life as a teacher of Greek and Latin. He translated the Odyssey into Latin verse for the use of his pupils. In the year 240 B.C., he brought out on the stage a Latin tragedy and comedy, borrowed from Greek sources. This date marks the beginning of Roman literature. Cf. Hor. *Ep.* II. 1, 156, ff.

Centōne Tuditānōque. C. Claudius Cento, son of Appius Claudius Caecus, and M. Sempronius Tuditanus, were consuls 240 B.C.

hūius P. Scīpiōnis. *Of the present Publius Scipio.* Cf. *hi consules*, V. 14. P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica was surnamed Corculum, on account of his legal attainments and eminence as a jurist.

M. Cethēgum. Cicero, *Brut.* 15, 57, calls Cethegus the first Roman orator, *primus est M. Cornelius Cethegus, cuius eloquentiae est auctor et idoneus quidem mea sententia Q. Ennius, praesertim cum et ipse eum audiverit et scribat de mortuo.*

Suādae medullam. Cf. *Brut.* 15, 59, '*Suadaeque medulla,*' πειθώ *quam vocant Graeci, cuius effector est orator, hanc Suadam appellavit Ennius.* According to Cicero, Ennius also called Cethegus *suaviloquens.*

senēscere sē multa in diēs addiscentem, quā voluptāte animī nūlla certē potest esse māior.

XV.

51 Veniō nunc ad voluptātēs agricolārum, quibus ego incrēdibiliter dēlector; quae nec ūllā impediuntur senectūte et mihi ad sapientis vītam proximē videntur accēdere. Habent enim ratiōnem cum terrā, quae numquam recūsat imperium nec umquam sine ūsūrā reddit, quod accēpit, sed aliās minōre, plērumque māiōre cum faenore. Quamquam mē quidem nōn frūctus modo, sed etiam ipsīus terrae vīs ac nātūra dēlectat. Quae cum gremiō mollītō ac subāctō sparsum sēmen excēpit, prīmum id occaecātum cohibet,

ad voluptātēs agricolārum. The Romans considered farming the only honorable employment for men of senatorial rank. Cicero himself was fond of country life, and very fitly attributes these words to Cato, who was thoroughly familiar with rural affairs and took great delight in his Sabine estate. In his *De Re Rustica*, Cato says: *Et virum bonum cum* (*maiores nostri*) *laudabant, ita laudabant, 'bonum agricolam bonumque colonum'*; and ibid. 4, *At ex agricolis et viri fortissimi, et milites strenuissimi gignuntur, maximeque pius quaestus, stabilissimusque consequitur, minimeque invidiosus: minimeque male cogitantes sunt, qui in eo studio occupati sunt.* Horace sings the praises of a farmer's life in *Epod.* 2, —

Beatus ille, qui procul negotiis,
Ut prisca gens mortalium,
Paterna rura bobus exercet suis.

Cf. also Verg. *Geor.* II. 513, ff. (Dryden's translation): —

The peasant, innocent of all these ills,
With crooked plow the fertile fallows tills,
And the round year with daily labor fills.
* * * * * *
Such was the life the frugal Sabines led:
So Remus and his brother god were bred,
From whom th' austere Etrurian virtue rose;
And this rude life our homely fathers chose.
Old Rome from such a race deriv'd her birth
(The seat of empire, and the conquered earth),
Which now on sev'n high hills triumphant reigns,
And in that compass all the world contains.

ex quō occātiō, quae hōc efficit, nōmināta est, deinde tepefactum vapōre et compressū suō diffundit et ēlicit herbēscentem ex eō viriditātem, quae nīxa fibrīs stirpium sēnsim adulēscit culmōque ērēcta geniculātō vāgīnīs iam quasi pūbēscēns inclūditur; ex quibus cum ēmersit, fundit frūgem spīcī ōrdine strūctam et contrā avium minōrum morsūs
52 mūnītur vāllō aristārum. Quid ego vītium ortūs, satūs, incrēmenta commemorem? Satiārī dēlectātiōne nōn possum, ut meae senectūtis requiem oblectāmentumque nōscātis. Omittō enim vim ipsam omnium, quae generantur ē terrā; quae ex fīcī tantulō grānō aut ex acinī vīnāceō aut ex cēterārum frūgum aut stirpium minūtissimīs sēminibus tantōs truncōs rāmōsque prōcreet. Malleolī, plantae, sarmenta, vīvirādīcēs, prōpāginēs nōnne efficiunt, ut quemvīs cum admīrātiōne dēlectent? Vītis quidem, quae nātūrā cadūca est et, nisi fulta est, fertur ad terram, eadem, ut sē ērigat, clāviculīs suīs quasi manibus, quicquid est nacta, complectitur; quam serpentem multiplicī lapsū et errāticō ferrō amputāns coercet ars agricolārum, nē silvēscat sarmentīs
53 et in omnīs partīs nimia fundātur. Itaque ineunte vēre in eīs, quae relīcta sunt, exsistit tamquam ad articulōs sarmentōrum ea, quae gemma dīcitur, ā quā oriēns ūva sē ostendit, quae et sūcō terrae et calōre sōlis augēscēns prīmō est peracerba gustātū, deinde mātūrāta dulcēscit vestītaque pampinīs nec modicō tepōre caret et nimiōs sōlis dēfendit ārdōrēs. Quā quid potest esse cum frūctū laetius, tum aspectū pulchrius? Cūius quidem nōn ūtilitās mē sōlum, ut ante dīxī, sed etiam cultūra et nātūra ipsa dēlectat, adminiculōrum ōrdinēs, capitum iugātiō, religātiō et prōpāgātiō vītium, sarmentōrum ea, quam dīxī, aliōrum amputātiō, aliōrum immissiō. Quid ego irrigātiōnēs, quid fossiōnēs agrī repastinātiōnēsque prōferam, quibus fit multō terra

54 fēcundior? Quid dē ūtilitāte loquar stercorandī? Dīxī in eō librō, quem dē rēbus rūsticīs scrīpsī; dē quā doctus Hēsiodus nē verbum quidem fēcit, cum dē cultūrā agrī scrīberet. At Homērus, quī multīs, ut mihi vidētur, ante saeculīs fuit, Lāertam lēnientem dēsīderium, quod capiēbat ē fīliō, colentem agrum et eum stercorantem facit. Nec vērō segetibus sōlum et prātīs et vīneīs et arbustīs rēs rūsticae laetae sunt, sed hortīs etiam et pōmāriīs, tum pecudum pāstū, apium exāminibus, flōrum omnium varietāte. Nec cōnsitiōnēs modo dēlectant, sed etiam īnsitiōnēs, quibus nihil invēnit agrī cultūra sollertius.

XVI.

55 Possum persequī permulta oblectāmenta rērum rūsticārum, sed haec ipsa, quae dīxī, sentiō fuisse longiōra. Īgnōscētis autem; nam et studiō rūsticārum rērum prōvēctus sum, et senectūs est nātūrā loquācior, nē ab omnibus eam vitiīs videar vindicāre. Ergō in hāc vītā M'. Curius, cum dē Samnītibus, dē Sabīnīs, dē Pyrrhō triumphāsset, cōn-

dē . . . agrī. Hesiod's poem was entitled Ἔργα καὶ Ἡμέραι.

Lāertam. Laertes was king of Ithaca and father of Odysseus. He gave up his kingdom to his son and spent his time in the cultivation of his farm.

colentem . . . stercorantem. Cato refers to *Od.* XXIV. 226, in which Laertes is represented as simply digging in his garden.

īnsitiōnēs. Cf. Verg. *Geor.* II. 32–34 (Dryden's translation): —

'Tis usual now an inmate graff to see
With insolence invade a foreign tree:
Thus pears and quinces from the crab tree come:
And thus the ruddy cornel bears the plum;

also ibid. 73–82 for the various methods of grafting. Read Bacon's essay on *Gardens*, "God Almighty first planted a garden; and indeed it is the purest of human pleasures"; also Addison's *Spectator*, No. 477, "I look upon the pleasure which we take in a garden, as one of the most innocent delights in human life"; and Emer-

sūmpsit extrēmum tempus aetātis. Cūius quidem ego vīl-
lam contēmplāns (abest enim nōn longē ā mē) admīrārī
satis nōn possum vel hominis ipsīus continentiam vel tem-
56 porum disciplīnam. Curiō ad focum sedentī māgnum aurī
pondus Samnītēs cum attulissent, repudiātī sunt; nōn enim
aurum habēre praeclārum sibi vidērī dīxit, sed eīs, quī
habērent aurum, imperāre. Poteratne tantus animus effi-
cere nōn iūcundam senectūtem? Sed veniō ad agricolās,
nē ā mē ipsō recēdam. In agrīs erant tum senātōrēs, id
est senēs, siquidem arantī L. Quīnctiō Cincinnātō nūntiā-
tum est eum dictātōrem esse factum; cūius dictātōris iūssū

son's essay on *Farming*, in which he says, "And the profession (of the farmer) has in all eyes its ancient charm, as standing nearest to God, the First Cause."

Curiō. This story is thus related by Plutarch, *Life of Cato*, 2: —

"The little country house of Manius Curius, who had been thrice carried in triumph, happened to be near his farm; so that often going thither, and contemplating the small compass of the place and plainness of the dwelling, Cato formed an idea of the mind of the person, who being one of the greatest of the Romans, and having subdued the most warlike nations, and driven Pyrrhus out of Italy, now, after three triumphs, was contented to dig in so small a piece of ground, and live in such a cottage. Here it was that ambassadors of the Samnites, finding him boiling turnips in the chimney corner, offered him a present of gold; but he sent them away with this saying, that he who was content with such a supper, had no need of gold; and that he thought it more honorable to conquer those who possessed the gold than to possess the gold itself. Cato, after reflecting upon these things, used to return, and reviewing his own farm, his servants, and housekeeping, increase his labor, and retrench all superfluous expenses."

L. Quīnctiō Cincinnātō. Cincinnatus belongs to the legendary period of Roman history. In 458 B.C., according to tradition, he was summoned from the plow to become dictator in the war against the Aequians. Twenty years later he was given similar authority to quell a revolt of the people. For the story of Cincinnatus, see Livy, III. 26; Liddell, *Hist. of Rome*, pp. 106–108, 134.

magister . . . Ahāla. The dictator, having been appointed by the consul at the instance of the senate, nominated his second in command, the master of the horse. Ahala held this office in the second dictatorship of Cincinnatus.

magister equitum C. Servīlius Ahāla Sp. Maelium rēgnum adpetentem occupātum interēmit. Ā vīllā in senātum arcessēbātur et Curius et cēterī senēs, ex quō, quī eōs arcessēbant, viātōrēs nōminātī sunt. Num igitur hōrum senectūs miserābilis fuit, quī sē agrī cultiōne oblectābant? Meā quidem sententiā haud sciō an nūlla beātior possit esse, neque sōlum officiō, quod hominum generī ūniversō cultūra agrōrum est salūtāris, sed et dēlectātiōne, quam dīxī, et saturitāte cōpiāque rērum omnium, quae ad vīctum hominum, ad cultum etiam deōrum pertinent, ut, quoniam haec quīdam dēsīderant, in grātiam iam cum voluptāte redeāmus. Semper enim bonī assiduīque dominī referta cella vīnāria, oleāria, etiam penāria est, vīllaque tōta locuplēs est, abundat porcō, haedō, āgnō, gallīnā, lacte, cāseō, melle. Iam hortum ipsī agricolae succīdiam alteram appellant. Condītiōra facit haec supervacāneīs etiam operīs
57 aucupium atque vēnātiō. Quid dē prātōrum viriditāte aut arborum ōrdinibus aut vīneārum olīvētōrumve speciē plūra dīcam? Brevī praecīdam: Agrō bene cultō nihil potest esse nec ūsū ūberius nec speciē ōrnātius; ad quem fruendum nōn modo nōn retardat, vērum etiam invītat atque adlectat senectūs. Ubi enim potest illa aetās aut calēscere vel aprīcātiōne melius vel īgnī aut vicissim umbrīs aquīsve
58 refrīgerārī salūbrius? Sibi habeant igitur arma, sibi equōs, sibi hastās, sibi clāvam et pilam, sibi natātiōnēs atque cursūs, nōbīs senibus ex lūsiōnibus multīs tālōs relinquant et

Sp. Maelium. Sp. Maelius was a wealthy plebeian. His offense consisted in buying up corn in Etruria, in a season of great scarcity and drought (440 B.C.), and distributing it at a small price, or gratuitously, among the poor. This action exposed him to the hatred of the ruling class. The charge of aiming at regal power was simply a pretext on the part of the patricians. They were angry at the plebeians for their aggressive course in wresting enlarged political privileges from the unwilling hands of the ruling class.

tesserās, id ipsum ut lubēbit, quoniam sine eīs beāta esse senectūs potest.

XVII.

59 Multās ad rēs perūtilēs Xenophōntis librī sunt; quōs legite, quaesō, studiōsē, ut facitis. Quam cōpiōsē ab eō agrī cultūra laudātur in eō librō, quī est dē tuendā rē familiārī, quī Oeconomicus īnscrībitur! Atque ut intellegātis nihil eī tam rēgāle vidērī quam studium agrī colendī, Sōcratēs in eō librō loquitur cum Critobūlō Cȳrum minōrem, Persārum rēgem, praestantem ingeniō atque imperī glōriā, cum Lysander Lacedaemonius, vir summae virtūtis, vēnisset ad eum Sardīs eīque dōna ā sociīs adtulisset, et cēterīs in rēbus commūnem ergā Lysandrum atque hūmānum

Xenophōntis librī. In addition to his historical works, Xenophon wrote three small treatises on Husbandry, Οἰκονομικός; Horses, περὶ Ἱππικῆς; and the Chase, Κυνηγετικός.

ut facitis. Cf. Cic. *Tusc.* II. 26, 62, *Itaque semper Africanus Socraticum Xenophontem in manibus habebat.*

Oeconomicus. Written in the form of a dialogue with Socrates and Critobulus as the speakers. Cicero had translated this when a young man. The passage following is a free rendering of Ch. IV. 20–25.

Critobūlō. Critobulus became the pupil of Socrates, at the request of his father Crito, who was one of the great philosopher's most influential friends and devoted followers.

Cȳrum minōrem, Persārum rēgem. "Cyrus the younger, prince of the Persians" (he was not actually king). Cyrus, the second son of Darius Nothus, is best known for his unsuccessful attempt to wrest the Persian Empire from his brother Artaxerxes. After his defeat and death at Cunaxa, 401 B.C., the Greeks, who had been the mainstay of his army, achieved the masterly retreat described by Xenophon in the Anabasis.

Lysander. Lysander became prominent in the latter part of the Peloponnesian war. While in command of Lacedaemonian troops on the coast of Asia Minor, in 407 B.C., he made the acquaintance of Cyrus, then a Persian satrap. In 405 B.C., Lysander defeated the Athenians at Aegospotamos, and by this decisive victory prepared the way for the final capture of Athens. Later he was influential in placing the thirty tyrants in power. His death occurred in a battle against the Thebans, 395 B.C.

fuisse et eī quendam cōnsaeptum agrum dīligenter cōnsitum ostendisse. Cum autem admīrārētur Lysander et prōcēritātēs arborum et dērēctōs in quīncuncem ōrdinēs et humum subāctam atque pūram et suāvitātem odōrum, quī adflārentur ex flōribus, tum eum dīxisse mīrārī sē nōn modo dīligentiam, sed etiam sollertiam ēius, ā quō essent illa dīmēnsa atque dīscrīpta; et Cȳrum respondisse: 'Atquī ego ista sum omnia dīmēnsus; meī sunt ōrdinēs, mea dīscrīptiō, multae etiam istārum arborum meā manū sunt satae.' Tum Lysandrum intuentem purpuram ēius et nitōrem corporis ōrnātumque Persicum multō aurō multīsque gemmīs dīxisse: 'Rēctē vērō tē, Cȳre, beātum ferunt, quo-
60 niam virtūtī tuae fōrtūna coniūncta est.' Hāc igitur fōrtūnā fruī licet senibus, nec aetās impedit, quō minus et cēterārum rērum et in prīmīs agrī colendī studia teneāmus usque ad ūltimum tempus senectūtis. M. quidem Valerium Corvīnum accēpimus ad centēsimum annum perdūxisse, cum esset āctā iam aetāte in agrīs eōsque coleret; cūius inter prīmum et sextum cōnsulātum sex et quadrāgintā annī interfuērunt. Ita, quantum spatium aetātis māiōrēs ad senectūtis initium esse voluērunt, tantus illī cursus honōrum fuit; atque hūius extrēma aetās hōc beātior quam media, quod auctōritātis habēbat plūs, labōris minus;

Rēctē . . . est. Cf. Xen. *Oec.* IV. 25, *Δικαίως μοι δοκεῖς ἔφη, ὦ Κῦρε, εὐδαίμων εἶναι, ἀγαθὸς γὰρ ὢν ἀνὴρ εὐδαιμονεῖς.*

M. . . . Valerium Corvīnum. M. Valerius Corvinus was consul six times, first in 348 B.C., and the last time in 299 B.C. Therefore the exact period intervening between his first and sixth consulship was forty-nine years, and not forty-six, as stated in the text. Valerius owed his surname, Corvinus, to the fact that a raven (*corvus*) lighted upon his helmet when, in 349 B.C., he engaged in single combat with a huge Gaul. See Liddell, *Hist. of Rome*, p. 151.

sex et quadrāgintā. See above on *Corvinum.* The regular period of military service closed with the forty-sixth year, and the *aetas seniorum* commenced.

61 apex est autem senectūtis auctōritās. Quanta fuit in L. Caeciliō Metellō, quanta in A. Atīliō Cālātīnō! in quem illud elogium: 'Hunc ūnum plūrimae cōnsentiunt gentēs populī prīmārium fuisse virum.' Nōtum est carmen incīsum in sepulcrō. Iūre igitur gravis, cūius dē laudibus omnium esset fāma cōnsentiēns. Quem virum nūper P. Crassum, pōntificem māximum, quem posteā M. Lepidum, eōdem sacerdōtiō praeditum, vīdimus! Quid dē Paulō aut Āfricānō loquar aut, ut iam ante, dē Māximō? quōrum nōn in sententiā sōlum, sed etiam in nūtū residēbat auctōritās. Habet senectūs honōrāta praesertim tantam auctōritātem, ut ea plūris sit quam omnēs adulēscentiae voluptātēs.

XVIII.

62 Sed in omnī ōrātiōne mementōte eam mē senectūtem laudāre, quae fundāmentīs adulēscentiae cōnstitūta sit. Ex quō efficitur id quod ego māgnō quondam cum assēnsū omnium dīxī, miseram esse senectūtem quae sē ōrātiōne dēfenderet. Nōn cānī nec rūgae repente auctōritātem arri-

A. Atīliō Cālātīnō. Aulus Atilius Calatinus was a native of Calatia in Campania. Elected consul in 258 and 254 B.C. and appointed dictator in 249, he rendered good service in the First Punic War.

in sepulcrō. His tomb was near that of the Scipios, on the Appian Way, outside the Capena gate. Cf. Cic. *Tusc.* I. 7, 13, *an tu egressus porta Capena, cum Calatini, Scipionum, Serviliorum, Metellorum sepulcra vides, miseros putas illos?*

M. Lepidum. M. Aemilius Lepidus was consul 187 B.C. and 175, and Pontifex Maximus 180 B.C., and *princeps senatus* six times in succession. He constructed the Aemilian Way, a continuation of the Flaminian. His death occurred about 150 B.C.

cānī. Sc. *capilli.* *Cani* with its noun omitted is poetic. With this passage, *Non cani . . . possunt,* cf. Seneca, *Tranq.* III. 7, *Saepe grandis natu senex nullum aliud habet argumentum, quo se probet diu vixisse, praeter aetatem;* also Sheridan, *Pizarro,* Act IV. sc. 1: —

"A life spent worthily should be measured by a nobler line, — by deeds, not years."

pere possunt, sed honestē ācta superior aetās frūctūs capit
63 auctōritātis extrēmōs. Haec enim ipsa sunt honōrābilia, quae videntur levia atque commūnia, salūtārī, adpetī, dēcēdī, adsurgī, dēdūcī, redūcī, cōnsulī; quae et apud nōs et in aliīs cīvitātibus, ut quaeque optimē mōrāta est, ita dīligentissimē observantur. Lysandrum Lacedaemonium, cūius modo fēcī mentiōnem, dīcere āiunt solitum Lacedaemonem esse honestissimum domicilium senectūtis; nusquam enim tantum tribuitur aetātī, nusquam est senectūs honōrātior. Quīn etiam memoriae prōditum est, cum Athēnīs lūdīs quīdam in theātrum grandis nātū vēnisset, māgnō cōnsessū locum nusquam eī datum ā suīs cīvibus; cum autem ad Lacedaemoniōs accessisset, quī lēgātī cum essent, certō in locō cōnsēderant, cōnsurrēxisse omnēs illī dīcuntur
64 et senem sessum recēpisse. Quibus cum ā cūnctō cōnsessū plausus esset multiplex datus, dīxisse ex eīs quendam Athēniēnsīs scīre, quae rēcta essent, sed facere nōlle. Multa in nostrō collēgiō praeclāra, sed hōc, dē quō agimus, in prīmīs, quod, ut quisque aetāte antecēdit, ita sententiae prīncipātum tenet, neque sōlum honōre antecēdentibus, sed eīs etiam, quī cum imperiō sunt, māiōrēs nātū augurēs antepōnuntur. Quae sunt igitur voluptātēs corporis cum auctōritātis praemiīs comparandae? Quibus quī splendidē ūsī sunt, eī mihi videntur fābulam aetātis perēgisse nec tamquam inexercitātī histriōnēs in extrēmō āctū corruisse.

Lacedaemonem. The city was called Sparta or Lacedaemon. According to fable, Lacedaemon, son of Jupiter, married Sparta, the daughter of Eurotas. The Laconian city in which they lived and reigned received the name of each.

cum auctōritātis praemiīs. Cf. Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, Act V. sc. 3: —

And that which should accompany
old age,
As honor, love, obedience, troops of
friends.

65 At sunt mōrōsī et anxiī et īrācundī et difficilēs senēs. Sī quaerimus, etiam avārī; sed haec mōrum vitia sunt, nōn senectūtis. Ac mōrōsitās tamen et ea vitia, quae dīxī, habent aliquid excūsātiōnis nōn illīus quidem iūstae, sed quae probārī posse videātur; contemnī sē putant, dēspicī, inlūdī; praetereā in fragilī corpore odiōsa omnis offēnsiō est. Quae tamen omnia dulciōra fīunt et mōribus bonīs et artibus, idque cum in vītā, tum in scaenā intellegī potest ex eīs frātribus, quī in Adelphīs sunt. Quanta in alterō dīritās, in alterō cōmitās! Sīc sē rēs habet: ut enim nōn omne vīnum, sīc nōn omnis nātūra vetustāte coacēscit. Sevēritātem in senectūte probō, sed eam, sīcut alia, modi-
66 cam, acerbitātem nūllō modō. Avāritia vērō senīlis quid sibi velit, nōn intellegō; potest enim quicquam esse absurdius quam, quō viae minus restet, eō plūs viāticī quaerere?

XIX.

Quārta restat causa, quae māximē angere atque sollicitam habēre nostram aetātem vidētur, adpropīnquātiō mortis, quae certē ā senectūte nōn potest esse longē. Ō miserum senem, quī mortem contemnendam esse in tam longā aetāte nōn vīderit! quae aut plānē neglegenda est, sī omnīnō

Adelphīs. *Adelphi*. The Brothers, one of the comedies of Terence (195–159 B.C.), the successor of Plautus, and a member of the Scipionic circle. His six comedies are still extant.

dīritās. "Harshness"; referring to Demea; cf. *Adelph.* l. 866, *Ego ille agrestis, saevos, tristis, parcus, truculentus, tenax.*

cōmitās. "Kindness"; referring to Micio; cf. *Adelph.* l. 863, *Ille suam semper egit vitam in otio, in conviviis: clemens, placidus.*

Avāritia, etc. With this passage cf. Ter. *Adelph.* ll. 831–4: —

O noster Demea,
ad omnia alia aetate sapimus rectius;
solum unum hoc vitium adfert senectus hominibus:
adtentiores sumus ad rem omnes, quam sat est.

exstinguit animum, aut etiam optanda, sī aliquō eum dēdū-
cit, ubi sit futūrus aeternus; atquī tertium certē nihil
67 invenīrī potest. Quid igitur timeam, sī aut nōn miser post
mortem aut beātus etiam futūrus sum? Quamquam quis
est tam stultus, quamvīs sit adulēscēns, cui sit explōrātum
sē ad vesperum esse vīctūrum? Quīn etiam aetās illa
multō plūrīs quam nostra cāsūs mortis habet; facilius in
morbōs incidunt adulēscentēs, gravius aegrōtant, trīstius
cūrantur. Itaque paucī veniunt ad senectūtem; quod nī
ita accideret, melius et prūdentius vīverētur. Mēns enim
et ratiō et cōnsilium in senibus est; quī sī nūllī fuissent,
nūllae omnīnō cīvitātēs fuissent. Sed redeō ad mortem
impendentem. Quod est istud crīmen senectūtis, cum id
68 eī videātis cum adulēscentiā esse commūne? Sēnsī ego in
optimō fīliō, tū in exspectātīs ad amplissimam dīgnitātem
frātribus, Scīpiō, mortem omnī aetātī esse commūnem. At
spērat adulēscēns diū sē vīctūrum, quod spērāre idem senex
nōn potest. Īnsipienter spērat. Quid enim stultius quam
incerta prō certīs habēre, falsa prō vērīs? At senex nē
quod spēret quidem habet. At est eō meliōre condiciōne
quam adulēscēns, quoniam id, quod ille spērat, hīc cōnse-
69 cūtus est; ille vult diū vīvere, hīc diū vīxit. Quamquam,

sī. . . . exstinguit animum. The doctrine of the annihilation of the soul. According to Sallust, *Cat.* 51, 20, Caesar declared his belief in this doctrine: *De poena possum equidem dicere, id quod res habet, in luctu atque miseriis mortem aerumnarum requiem, non cruciatum esse, eam cuncta mortalium mala dissolvere, ultra neque curae neque gaudio locum esse.* Lucretius, who accepted the philosophy of Epicurus, set forth the same belief in *De Natura Rerum*, III. 417, ff.

frātribus. The two sons of Aemilius Paulus, aged twelve and fourteen, who died, the younger five days before and the older three days after Paulus' triumph over King Perseus of Macedonia. Their death left him without heirs, as his older sons had been adopted into other families, one into the Fabian *gens*, the other (Scipio) into the Cornelian.

Ō dī bonī! quid est in hominis nātūrā diū? Dā enim summum tempus, exspectēmus Tartēssiōrum rēgis aetātem (fuit enim, ut scrīptum videō, Arganthōnius quīdam Gādibus, quī octōgintā rēgnāvit annōs, centum vīgintī vīxit) — sed mihi nē diūturnum quidem quicquam vidētur in quō est aliquid extrēmum. Cum enim id advenit, tum illud, quod praeteriit, efflūxit; tantum remanet, quod virtūte et rēctē factīs cōnsecūtus sīs; hōrae quidem cēdunt et diēs et mēnsēs et annī, nec praeteritum tempus umquam revertitur, nec, quid sequātur, scīrī potest; quod cuique temporis ad vīvendum datur, eō dēbet esse contentus.

70 Neque enim histriōnī, ut placeat, peragenda fābula est, modo, in quōcumque fuerit āctū, probētur, neque sapientibus usque ad 'Plaudite' veniendum est. Breve enim tempus aetātis satis longum est ad bene honestēque vīvendum; sīn prōcesserit longius, nōn magis dolendum est, quam agricolae dolent praeteritā vernī temporis suāvitāte aestātem autumnumque vēnisse. Vēr enim tamquam adulēscentiam sīg-

Tartēssiōrum . . . Gādibus. The country about the mouth of the river Baetis, in southern Spain, of which Gades (Cadiz) was the principal city, was called Tartessus.

ut scrīptum videō. Herodotus I. 163, *ἐτυράννευσε δὲ Ταρτησσοῦ ὀγδώκοντα ἔτεα, ἐβίωσε δὲ πάντα εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν.* Arganthonius belongs to the sixth century B.C.

quod . . . esse contentus. Cf. Hor. *Sat.* I. 1, 117–119: —

Inde fit, ut raro, qui se vixisse beatum
Dicat, et, exacto contentus tempore, vita
Cedat uti conviva satur, reperire queamus.

Plaudite. Plays usually closed with this word. Cf. Plautus, *Trin.*; also Hor. *A. P.* 155: —

Sessuri donec cantor 'vos plaudite' dicat.

It is the closing word in every one of Terence's six comedies. For the comparison of life to a play, see p. 50.

Breve enim . . . vīvendum. L. Huxley compares Ben Jonson's lines: —

In small proportions we just beauties see,
And in short measures life may perfect be.

nificat ostenditque frūctūs futūrōs, reliqua autem tempora dēmetendīs frūctibus et percipiendīs accommodāta sunt.
71 Frūctus autem senectūtis est, ut saepe dīxī, ante partōrum bonōrum memoria et cōpia. Omnia autem, quae secundum nātūram fīunt, sunt habenda in bonīs. Quid est autem tam secundum nātūram quam senibus ēmorī? Quod idem contingit adulēscentibus adversante et repūgnante nātūrā. Itaque adulēscentēs mihi morī sīc videntur, ut cum aquae multitūdine flammae vīs opprimitur, senēs autem sīc, ut cum suā sponte nūllā adhibitā vī cōnsūmptus īgnis exstinguitur; et quasi pōma ex arboribus, crūda sī sunt, vix ēvelluntur, sī mātūra et cocta, dēcidunt, sīc vītam adulēscentibus vīs aufert, senibus mātūritās; quae quidem mihi tam iūcunda est, ut, quō propius ad mortem accēdam, quasi terram vidēre videar aliquandōque in portum ex longā nāvigātiōne esse ventūrus.

XX.

72 Senectūtis autem nūllus est certus terminus, rēctēque in eā vīvitur, quoad mūnus officī exsequī et tuērī possit [mortemque contemnere]; ex quō fit, ut animōsior etiam senectūs sit quam adulēscentia et fortior. Hōc illud est, quod

senibus mātūritās. Cf. Job v. 26, "Thou shalt come to thy grave in a full age, like as a shock of corn cometh in his season"; also Wordsworth's lines: —

But an old age serene and bright,
And lovely as a Lapland night,
Shall lead thee to thy grave.

aliquandō. "At length"; *i.e.* the desired haven has been reached. In II. 6, life is likened to a long journey by land. In *Tusc.* I. 49, 119, Cicero calls death "a harbor of refuge," *portum potius paratum nobis et perfugium putemus.* Cf. Longfellow's sonnet on *Old Age*: —

The course of my long life hath reached at last,
In fragile bark o'er a tempestuous sea,
The common harbor, where must rendered be
Account of all the actions of the past.

Pīsistratō tyrannō ā Solōne respōnsum est, cum illī quaerentī, quā tandem rē frētus sibi tam audāciter obsisteret, respondisse dīcitur: 'Senectūte.' Sed vīvendī est fīnis optimus, cum integrā mente certīsque sēnsibus opus ipsa suum eadem, quae coāgmentāvit, nātūra dissolvit. Ut nāvem, ut aedificium īdem dēstruit facillimē, quī cōnstrūxit, sīc hominem eadem optimē, quae conglūtināvit, nātūra dissolvit. Iam omnis conglūtinātiō recēns aegrē, inveterāta facile dīvellitur. Ita fit, ut illud breve vītae reliquum nec avidē adpetendum senibus nec sine causā dēserendum sit;
73 vetatque Pȳthagorās iniūssū imperātōris, id est deī, dē

Pīsistratō . . . respōnsum est. According to Plutarch, Solon, 31, this reply was made to others and not to Pisistratus directly. Pisistratus became despot of Athens 560 B.C., and held his position, except during a few years, until 527 B.C., when his two sons succeeded him in the government. His rule is said to have been, in the main, wise and conducive to the prosperity of Athens. Pisistratus founded a public library and also caused the works of Homer to be collected and edited.

sine causā. Implying that suicide might be justified under certain circumstances, — a doctrine held by the Stoics. Compare with this the teaching of Pythagoras given in the passage following.

vetatque . . . dēcēdere. Cf. Cic. *Som. Scip.* III. 7, *Qua re et tibi, Publi, et piis omnibus retinendus animus est in custodia corporis, nec iniussu eius a quo ille est vobis datus ex hominum vita migrandum est, ne munus humanum adsignatum a deo defugisse videamini;* also *Tusc.* I. 30, 74. Plato in the *Phaedo*, 61, 62, represents Socrates as saying, "Then he, or any man who has the spirit of philosophy, will be willing to die, though he will not take his own life, for that is held not to be right." "There is a doctrine uttered in secret that man is a prisoner who has no right to open the door of his prison and run away; this is a great mystery, which I do not quite understand. Yet I, too, believe that the gods are our guardians, and that we are a possession of theirs." "Then there may be reason in saying that a man should wait, and not take his own life until God summons him, as he is now summoning me." Jowett's Trans. Cf. Tennyson's *Lucretius:* —

Whether I mean this day to end myself,
Or lend an ear to Plato where he says,
That men like soldiers may not quit the post
Allotted by the Gods.

praesidiō et statiōne vītae dēcēdere. Solōnis quidem sapientis est elogium, quō sē negat velle suam mortem dolōre amīcōrum et lāmentīs vacāre. Volt, crēdō, sē esse cārum suīs; sed haud sciō an melius Ennius:

> Nēmō mē lacrumīs decoret neque fūnera flētū
> Faxit.

Nōn cēnset lūgendam esse mortem, quam immortālitās
74 cōnsequātur. Iam sēnsus moriendī aliquis esse potest, isque ad exiguum tempus, praesertim senī; post mortem quidem sēnsus aut optandus aut nūllus est. Sed hōc meditātum ab adulēscentiā dēbet esse, mortem ut neglegāmus, sine quā meditātiōne tranquillō animō esse nēmō potest. Moriendum enim certē est, et incertum an hōc ipsō diē. Mortem igitur omnibus hōrīs impendentem timēns quī poterit animō
75 cōnsistere? Dē quā nōn ita longā disputātiōne opus esse vidētur, cum recorder nōn L. Brūtum, quī in līberandā patriā est interfectus, nōn duōs Deciōs, quī ad voluntāriam

elogium. This saying has been preserved by Plutarch in his comparison of Solon and Publicola. Cicero has thus translated it in *Tusc.* I. 49, 117: —

> Mors mea ne careat lacrimis; linquamus amicis
> Maerorem, ut celebrent funera cum gemitu.

Nēmō . . . Faxit. Cf. *Tusc.* I. 34, for the full form: —

> Nemo me lacrimis decoret nec funera fletu
> Faxit. Cur? Volito vivus per ora virum.

Cf. with this Wordsworth's translation of Francesco Ceni's epitaph: —

> Weep not, beloved Friends! nor let the air
> For me with sighs be troubled. Not from life
> Have I been taken; this is genuine life
> And this alone, — the life which now I live
> In peace eternal; where desire and joy
> Together move in fellowship without end.

L. Brūtum. L. Junius Brutus, the leader of the people in the expulsion of Tarquinius Superbus, and one of the first two consuls, 509 B.C. Tradition says he was slain in single combat by Aruns, the son of Tarquin.

mortem cursum equōrum incitāvērunt, nōn M. Atīlium, quī ad supplicium est profectus, ut fidem hostī datam cōnservāret, nōn duōs Scīpiōnēs, quī iter Poenīs vel corporibus suīs obstruere voluērunt, nōn avum tuum L. Paulum, quī morte luit conlēgae in Cannēnsī īgnōminiā temeritātem, nōn M. Mārcellum, cūius interitum nē crūdēlissimus quidem hostis honōre sepultūrae carēre passus est, sed legiōnēs nostrās, quod scrīpsī in Orīginibus, in eum locum saepe profectās alacrī animō et ērēctō, unde sē reditūrās numquam arbitrārentur. Quod igitur adulēscentēs, et eī quidem nōn sōlum indoctī, sed etiam rūsticī, contemnunt, id doctī senēs exti-

M. Atīlium. M. Atilius Regulus, consul, 267 and 256 B.C. Cicero here refers to the story of Regulus' capture by the Carthaginians in Africa, in the First Punic War, his mission to Rome to effect an exchange of prisoners, his advice to the senate against this measure, and his voluntary return to Carthage in accordance with the pledge he had given, if his errand proved fruitless. Cf. *De Off.* I. 13, 39; Hor. *Odes* III. 5, 41–56.

conlēgae. M. Terentius Varro, whose rashness brought on the battle of Cannae, 216 B.C., in which Paulus was killed, and the Romans suffered a terrible defeat. Cf. Liv. XXII. 45–50.

M. Mārcellum. M. Claudius Marcellus was consul five times. In his first term of office, 222 B.C., he slew the Insubrian chief, Viridomarus, and obtained the *spolia opima*. In the Second Punic War he was known as the sword of Rome, as Fabius was called the shield, and succeeded in capturing Syracuse, 212 B.C., after a famous siege, in which the defenders of the city were greatly aided by the inventive genius of Archimedes. Marcellus was surprised by an ambuscade near Venusia, 208 B.C., and killed, in the sixtieth year of his age.

crūdēlissimus . . . hostis. There is no reason for believing this epithet deserved by Hannibal. In fact, the instance here given would indicate that he was just the opposite in his treatment of the dead Marcellus. Hannibal's remarkable victories over the Romans rendered them incapable of taking an impartial view of his character.

sed legiōnēs nostrās . . . arbitrārentur. Cf. *Tusc.* I. 42, 101. where almost the same words are used; also Tennyson's lines: —

> Was there a man dismayed?
> Not though the soldier knew
> Some one had blundered:
> Theirs not to make reply,
> Theirs not to reason why,
> Theirs but to do and die.

76 mēscent? Omnīnō, ut mihi quidem vidētur, studiōrum omnium satietās vītae facit satietātem. Sunt pueritiae studia certa; num igitur ea dēsīderant adulēscentēs? Sunt ineuntis adulēscentiae; num ea cōnstāns iam requīrit aetās, quae media dīcitur? Sunt etiam ēius aetātis; nē ea quidem quaeruntur in senectūte. Sunt extrēma quaedam studia senectūtis; ergō, ut superiōrum aetātum studia occidunt, sīc occidunt etiam senectūtis; quod cum ēvēnit, satietās vītae tempus mātūrum mortis adfert.

XXI.

77 Nōn enim videō, cūr, quid ipse sentiam dē morte, nōn audeam vōbīs dīcere, quod eō cernere mihi melius videor, quō ab eā propius absum. Ego vestrōs patrēs, P. Scīpiō, tūque, C. Laelī, virōs clārissimōs mihique amīcissimōs, vīvere arbitror, et eam quidem vītam, quae est sōla vīta nōminanda. Nam, dum sumus inclūsī in hīs compāgibus corporis, mūnere quōdam necessitātis et gravī opere per-

Omnīnō . . . adfert. With this whole section compare the opening and closing lines of Browning's *Rabbi Ben Ezra:* —

Grow old along with me!
The best is yet to be,
The last of life, for which the first was made:
Our times are in His hand
Who saith, "A whole I planned,
Youth shows but half; trust God: see all, nor be afraid!"

* * * * * *

My times be in Thy hand!
Perfect the cup as planned!
Let age approve of youth, and death complete the same.

cōnstāns . . . aetās. Cf. X. 33. For the periods into which the life of man was divided, see on *senectutis*, p. 47.

vestrōs patrēs. Aemilius Paulus (cf. VI. 15) and C. Laelius, consul, 190 B.C., the friend and companion of the elder Africanus, under whom he served in the Second Punic War, commanding the cavalry at the battle of Zama.

inclūsī . . . corporis. Cf. *Scip. Som.* III. 6, *ei vivunt, qui e corporum vinculis tamquam e carcere evolaverunt, vestra vero quae dicitur vita mors est;* also *De Am.* IV. 14, *ut optimi cuiusque animus in morte facillime evolet tamquam e custodia*

fungimur; est enim animus caelestis ex altissimō domiciliō dēpressus et quasi dēmersus in terram, locum dīvīnae nātūrae aeternitātīque contrārium. Sed crēdō deōs immortālīs sparsisse animōs in corpora hūmāna, ut essent, quī terrās tuērentur, quīque caelestium ōrdinem contemplantēs imitārentur eum vītae modō atque cōnstantiā. Nec mē sōlum ratiō ac disputātiō impulit, ut ita crēderem, sed nōbilitās
78 etiam summōrum philosophōrum et auctōritās. Audiēbam Pȳthagoram Pȳthagorēōsque, incolās paene nostrōs, quī essent Ītalicī philosophī quondam nōminātī, numquam dubitāsse, quīn ex ūniversā mente dīvīnā dēlībātōs animōs habērēmus. Dēmōnstrābantur mihi praetereā, quae Sōcra-

vinculisque corporis. With this and the preceding passage, compare the lines of Browning: —

Dying we live,
Fretless and free,
  Soul, cap thy pinion!
  Earth have dominion,
Body, o'er thee!
* * * * *
Body may slumber;
Body shall cumber
  Soul-flight no more.

quī terrās tuērentur. Cf. *Scip. Som.* III. 7, *Homines enim sunt hac lege generati, qui tuerentur illum globum . . . quae terra dicitur.*

contēmplantēs imitārentur. Cf. *N. D.* II. 14, 37, *Ipse autem homo ortus est ad mundum contemplandum et imitandum;* also *Tusc.* I. 28, 69, *hominem ipsum quasi contemplatorem caeli ac deorum ipsorumque cultorem;* and Plato's *Timaeus*, 47 (Jowett's translation): —

"God invented and gave us sight to this end, — that we might behold the courses of intelligence in the heaven, and apply them to the courses of our own intelligence which are akin to them, the unperturbed to the perturbed; and that we, learning them and being partakers of the true computations of nature, might imitate the absolutely unerring courses of God and regulate our own vagaries."

incolās paene nostrōs. Pythagoras lived and taught his philosophy at Crotona, in southern Italy. For this reason his school was called the Italic, and was thus distinguished from the schools afterward founded in Greece.

dēlībātōs. The soul of each man was a portion of the great world-soul. Cf. *Tusc.* V. 13, 38. *Humanus autem animus, decerptus ex mente divina, cum alio nullo, nisi cum ipso deo, si hoc fas est dictu, comparari potest; N. D.* I. 11, 27; Verg. *Aen.* VI. 724–729.

tēs suprēmō vītae diē dē immortālitāte animōrum disseruisset, is quī esset omnium sapientissimus ōrāculō Apollinis iūdicātus. Quid multa? Sīc persuāsī mihi, sīc sentiō, cum tanta celeritās animōrum sit, tanta memoria praeteritōrum futūrōrumque prūdentia, tot artēs, tantae scientiae, tot inventa, nōn posse eam nātūram, quae rēs eās contineat, esse mortālem, cumque semper agitētur animus nec prīncipium mōtūs habeat, quia sē ipse moveat, nē fīnem quidem habitūrum esse mōtūs, quia numquam sē ipse sit relīctūrus, et, cum simplex animī esset nātūra neque habēret in sē quicquam admixtum dispār suī atque dissimile, nōn posse eum dīvidī; quod sī nōn posset, nōn posse interīre; māgnōque esse argūmentō hominēs scīre plēraque ante quam nātī sint, quod iam puerī, cum artīs difficilīs discant, ita celeriter rēs innumerābilīs arripiant, ut eās nōn tum prīmum accipere videantur, sed reminīscī et recordārī. Haec Platōnis ferē.

disseruisset. In Plato's *Phaedo.*

is quī . . . sapientissimus . . . iūdicātus. Cf. Plato's *Apology*, 5.

tanta celeritās animōrum. Cf. *Tusc.* I. 19, 43, *nulla est celeritas, quae possit cum animi celeritate contendere.*

Haec Platōnis ferē. The four arguments are based upon the *capacity*, the *self-activity*, the *simplicity*, and the *preëxistence* of the soul. They are taken in part from the *Phaedrus*, and in part from the *Phaedo*. In one passage in the latter (§ 80), Socrates says: "Is not the conclusion of the whole matter this, — that the soul is in the very likeness of the divine, and immortal, and intelligible, and uniform, and indissoluble, and unchangeable; and the body is in the very likeness of the human and mortal, and unintelligible, and multiform, and dissoluble, and changeable?" Cf. Emerson's *Old Age*, closing paragraph: "I have heard, that, whenever the name of man is spoken, the doctrine of immortality is announced; it cleaves to his constitution. The mode of it baffles our wit, and no whisper comes to us from the other side. But the inference from the working of intellect, hiving knowledge, hiving skill, — at the end of life just ready to be born, affirms the inspirations of affection and of the moral sentiment." On the preëxistence of the soul, cf. Wordsworth's famous lines in his ode, *Intimations of Immortality from Recollections of Early Childhood:* —

XXII.

79 Apud Xenophōntem autem moriēns Cȳrus māior haec dīcit: ‘Nōlīte arbitrārī, Ō mihi cārissimī fīliī, mē, cum ā vōbīs discesserō, nusquam aut nūllum fore. Nec enim, dum eram vōbīscum, animum meum vidēbātis, sed eum esse in hōc corpore ex eīs rēbus, quās gerēbam, intellegēbātis. Eundem igitur esse crēditōte, etiamsī nūllum vidēbitis.
80 Nec vērō clārōrum virōrum post mortem honōrēs permanērent, sī nihil eōrum ipsōrum animī efficerent, quō diūtius memoriam suī tenērēmus. Mihi quidem numquam persuādērī potuit animōs, dum in corporibus essent mortālibus, vīvere, cum excessissent ex eīs, ēmorī, nec vērō tum animum esse īnsipientem, cum ex īnsipientī corpore ēvāsisset, sed cum omnī admixtiōne corporis līberātus pūrus et

Our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting:
The soul that rises with us, our life's Star,
Hath had elsewhere its setting,
And cometh from afar:
Not in entire forgetfulness,
And not in utter nakedness,
But trailing clouds of glory do we come
From God, who is our home:
Heaven lies about us in our infancy!
Shades of the prison-house begin to close
Upon the growing boy.

Apud Xenophōntem. In the *Cyropaedia*, VIII. 7, 17, of which Cicero has given a free rendering, omitting a few lines.

Nec vērō . . . tenērēmus. With this cf. *Tusc.* I. 15, 35, *verisimile est, cum optimus quisque maxime posteritati serviat, esse aliquid, cuius is post mortem sensum sit habiturus.* With this and the following passage cf. Lowell's lines from his *Elegy on the Death of Dr. Channing*:—

Therefore I cannot think thee wholly gone;
The better part of thee is with us still;
Thy soul its hampering clay aside hath thrown,
And only freer wrestles with the Ill.
* * * * * *
And often, from that other world, on this
Some gleams from great souls gone before may shine,
To shed on struggling hearts a clearer bliss,
And clothe the Right with luster more divine.

integer esse coepisset, tum esse sapientem. Atque etiam cum hominis nātūra morte dissolvitur, cēterārum rērum perspicuum est quō quaeque discēdat; abeunt enim illūc omnia, unde orta sunt, animus autem sōlus, nec cum adest nec cum discēdit, appāret. Iam vērō vidētis nihil esse
81 mortī tam simile quam somnum. Atquī dormientium animī māximē dēclārant dīvīnitātem suam; multa enim, cum remīssī et līberī sunt, futūra prōspiciunt. Ex quō intellegitur, quālēs futūrī sint, cum sē plānē corporis vinculīs relaxāverint. Quārē, sī haec ita sunt, sīc mē colitōte,' inquit, 'ut deum; sīn ūnā est interitūrus animus cum corpore, vōs tamen deōs verentēs, quī hanc omnem pulchritūdinem tuentur et regunt, memoriam nostrī piē inviolātēque servābitis.'

abeunt . . . orta sunt. Cf. *Eccles.* xii. 7, "Then shall the dust return to the earth as it was; and the spirit shall return unto God who gave it."

nihil esse mortī . . . somnum. Cf. Ov. *Amor.* II. 9, 41,

Stulte, quid est somnus, gelidae nisi mortis imago?

Hom. *Il.* XIV. 231,

Death's brother, Sleep;

Sir Wm. Jones, from the Persian: —

So live, that sinking in thy last long sleep,
Calm thou mayst smile, while all around thee weep;

Scott's *Lady of the Lake*, Cant. I.: —

Sleep the sleep that knows not breaking,
Morn of toil, nor night of waking;

Bryant's *Thanatopsis*, last stanza: —

So live, that when thy summons comes to join
The innumerable caravan that moves
To the pale realms of shade, where each shall take
His chamber in the silent halls of death,
Thou go not, like the quarry-slave at night,
Scourged to his dungeon, but sustained and soothed
By an unfaltering trust, approach thy grave
Like one who wraps the drapery of his couch
About him, and lies down to pleasant dreams.

servābitis. Read Bacon's essay on *Death*, and Addison's *Spectator*, No. 133, in which the dying Epaminondas says: "This is not the end of my life, my fellow-soldiers; it is

XXIII.

82 Cȳrus quidem haec moriēns; nōs, sī placet, nostra videāmus. Nēmō umquam mihi, Scīpiō, persuādēbit aut patrem tuum Paulum aut duōs avōs, Paulum et Āfricānum, aut Āfricānī patrem aut patruum aut multōs praestantīs virōs, quōs ēnumerāre nōn est necesse, tanta esse cōnātōs, quae ad posteritātis memoriam pertinērent, nisi animō cernerent posteritātem ad sē ipsōs pertinēre. An cēnsēs, ut dē mē ipse aliquid mōre senum glōrier, mē tantōs labōrēs diurnōs nocturnōsque domī mīlitiaeque susceptūrum fuisse, sī eīsdem fīnibus glōriam meam, quibus vītam, essem terminātūrus? Nōnne melius multō fuisset ōtiōsam aetātem et quiētam sine ūllō et labōre et contentiōne trādūcere? Sed nēsciō quō modō animus ērigēns sē posteritātem ita semper prōspiciēbat, quasi, cum excessisset ē vītā, tum dēnique vīctūrus esset. Quod quidem nī ita sē habēret, ut animī immortālēs essent, haud optimī cūiusque animus māximē ad immortālitātem

83 et glōriam nīterētur. Quid? quod sapientissimus quisque aequissimō animō moritur, stultissimus inīquissimō, nōnne vōbīs vidētur is animus, quī plūs cernat et longius, vidēre sē ad meliōra proficīscī, ille autem, cūius obtūsior sit aciēs, nōn vidēre? Equidem efferor studiō patrēs vestrōs, quōs coluī et dīlēxī, videndī, neque vērō eōs sōlōs convenīre aveō,

now your Epaminondas is born, who dies in so much glory."

nostra, *i.e.* examples of this belief among Romans.

tantōs labōrēs. Cf. *Pro Arch.* XI., *Certe, si nihil animus praesentiret in posterum, et si, quibus regionibus vitae spatium circumscriptum est, eisden omnes cogitationes terminaret suas, nec tantis se laboribus frangeret neque tot curis vigiliisque angeretur nec toties de ipsa vita dimicaret.*

ad meliōra. With this passage cf. Browning's poem, *Prospice:* —

For sudden the worst turns the best
to the brave.

quōs ipse cōgnōvī, sed illōs etiam, dē quibus audīvī et lēgī et ipse cōnscrīpsī. Quō quidem mē proficīscentem haud sānē quis facile retrāxerit nec tamquam Peliam recōxerit. Et sī quis deus mihi largiātur, ut ex hāc aetāte repuerāscam et in cūnīs vāgiam, valdē recūsem nec vērō velim
84 quasi dēcursō spatiō ad carcerēs ā calce revocārī. Quid habet enim vīta commodī? Quid nōn potius labōris? Sed habeat sānē, habet certē tamen aut satietātem aut modum. Nōn lubet enim mihi dēplōrāre vītam, quod multī, et eī doctī, saepe fēcērunt, neque mē vīxisse paenitet, quoniam ita vīxī, ut nōn frūstrā mē nātum exīstimem, et ex vītā ita

sed illōs etiam. Cf. with this passage Plato, *Apol.* XXXII. 41: "But if death is the journey to another place, and there, as men say, all the dead are, what good, O my friend and judges, can be greater than this? . . . What would not a man give if he might converse with Orpheus and Musaeus and Hesiod and Homer? Nay, if this be true, let me die again and again."

Peliam. Medea, the famous sorceress, restored Aeson, the father of Jason, to youth, by cutting him up and boiling him. The daughters of Pelias, king of Iolcos and half-brother of Aeson, tried the same experiment with their father, at the suggestion of Medea, but failed. Cicero confuses the two stories.

carcerēs. A row of small, vaulted chambers, twelve or less in number, each large enough to hold a chariot and its horses. At the signal for the race, slaves threw open the folding doors in front of the *carceres*.

calce. "The finish line." A chalk line was drawn across the arena opposite the judge's box to mark the end of the course. On this and *carceres*, above, see Smith's *Dict. Antiq.* vol. I. s.v. *circus*. Cf. *De Am.* XXV. 101, *quibuscum tamquam e carceribus emissus sis, cum eisdem ad calcem, ut dicitur, pervenire.* With this whole passage compare Byron's lines from *A Fragment:* —

Could I remount the river of my years
To the first fountain of our smiles and tears,
I would not trace again the stream of hours
Between their outworn banks of wither'd flowers,
But bid it flow as now — until it glides
Into the number of the nameless tides.

Quid nōn potius labōris. Compare this with *Ps.* xc. 10, "yet is their strength labor and sorrow."

eī doctī. In *Tusc.* I. 34, 84, Cicero mentions Hegesias, who wrote 'Αποκαρτερῶν, *i.e.* one who refrains from eating that he may die and be free from the troubles of life.

discēdō tamquam ex hospitiō, nōn tamquam ē domō. Commorandī enim nātūra dēvorsōrium nōbīs, nōn habitandī dedit. Ō praeclārum diem, cum in illud dīvīnum animōrum concilium coetumque proficīscar cumque ex hāc turbā et conluviōne discēdam! Proficīscar enim nōn ad eōs sōlum virōs, dē quibus ante dīxī, vērum etiam ad Catōnem meum, quō nēmō vir melior nātus est, nēmō pietāte praestantior; cūius ā mē corpus est cremātum, quod contrā decuit, ab illō meum, animus vērō nōn mē dēserēns, sed respectāns in ea profectō loca discessit, quō mihi ipsī cernēbat esse veniendum. Quem ego meum cāsum fortiter ferre vīsus sum, nōn quō aequō animō ferrem, sed mē ipse cōnsōlābar exīstimāns nōn longīnquum inter nōs dīgressum
85 et discessum fore. Hīs mihi rēbus, Scīpiō (id enim tē cum Laeliō admīrārī solēre dīxistī), levis est senectūs, nec sōlum nōn molesta, sed etiam iūcunda. Quod sī in hōc errō, quī animōs hominum immortālīs esse crēdam, libenter errō nec mihi hunc errōrem, quō dēlector, dum vīvō, extorquērī volō; sīn mortuus, ut quīdam minūtī philosophī cēnsent, nihil

nōn habitandī. Sc. *locum.* Cf. *Heb.* xiii. 14, "For here have we no continuing city, but we seek one to come."

cum in illud . . . discēdam. Cf. Byron's lines: —

But wherefore weep? Her matchless spirit soars
  Beyond where splendid shines the orb of day;
And weeping angels lead her to those bowers
  Where endless pleasures virtue's deeds repay.

Proficīscar . . . ad Catōnem meum. Cf. Whittier's *Snow-Bound*: —

Alas for him who never sees
The stars shine through his cypress-trees!
Who, hopeless, lays his dead away,
Nor looks to see the breaking day
Across the mournful marbles play!
Who hath not learned, in hours of faith,
  The truth to flesh and sense unknown,
That Life is ever lord of Death,
  And Love can never lose its own!

libenter errō. For a similar sentiment, cf. *Tusc.* I. 17, 39. *Errare mehercule malo cum Platone . . . quam cum istis vera sentire.*

sentiam, nōn vereor, nē hunc errōrem meum philosophī mortuī irrīdeant. Quod sī nōn sumus immortālēs futūrī, tamen exstinguī hominī suō tempore optābile est. Nam habet nātūra, ut aliārum omnium rērum, sīc vīvendī modum. Senectūs autem aetātis est perāctiō tamquam fābulae, cūius dēfatīgātiōnem fugere dēbēmus, praesertim adiūnctā satietāte.

Haec habuī, dē senectūte quae dīcerem; ad quam utinam perveniātis! ut ea, quae ex mē audīstis, rē expertī probāre possītis.

Quod sī nōn sumus . . . est. Contrast the uncertainty of philosophy with the certainty of revelation, 2 *Tim.* i. 10, "But is now made manifest by the appearing of our Saviour Jesus Christ, who hath abolished death and hath brought life and immortality to light through the gospel."

Nam habet . . . satietāte. Addison has taken this passage for the text of No. 153 of the *Spectator.* The old age of a frivolous life he describes in No. 260, taking for the heading Horace, *Ep.* II. 2, 55: —

Singula de nobis anni praedantur euntes.

On the possibility of usefulness, even in the last act (*peractio*) of the drama of life, cf. the closing lines of Longfellow's *Morituri Salutamus*: —

For age is opportunity no less
Than youth itself, though in another dress,
And as the evening twilight fades away
The sky is filled with stars, invisible by day.

Haec habuī . . . dīcerem. Cf. the closing paragraph of the *De Am.*, in which the same form of expression is employed.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES.

CONTAINING GRAMMATICAL REFERENCES, SUGGESTIONS UPON THE TRANSLATION OF DIFFICULT PASSAGES, AND TEXTUAL NOTES.

In the grammatical references Harkness' Complete Latin Grammar, 1898, is indicated by heavy-faced type, references to Harkness' Standard Latin Grammar, 1881, being inclosed in brackets; Mooney's Grammar by M.; Allen & Greenough's by A.; Gildersleeve's by G.; Bennett's by B.; Lane's by L.

I. **1. quid**: adverbial accusative.

adiuerō: the full form would be *adiūverō*. The *v* has fallen out and *u* become short.

levāssō: for *levavero*. For an explanation of the form, see **244, 4** (**240, 4**); M. 101, 3; A. 128, *e*, 5; G. 131, 4, *b*, 1; L. 887.

coquit: most editors translate *vexes, harasses*. Shuckburgh renders, "which fixed (like a sting) in your breast now burns and tortures you." He thinks the metaphor is taken from a sting or poisoned dart which causes a lasting irritation and pain. The word is used figuratively by the poets and post-Augustan prose writers. It is found in Plaut. *Trin.* 225; Verg. *Aen.* VII. 345; Sil. XIV. 103; Quint. XII. 10, 77.

versāt: the original quantity of the vowel is retained in this instance. **39, 2** (**21, 1**); M. 516; A. 375, *g*, 5; G. 721; B. 367, 2; L. 68, *a*.

praemī: until the time of Augustus nouns in *-ius* and *-ium* formed the genitive in a single *ī*.

enim: here and with *novi* below, *enim* is affirmative rather than explanatory. Observe its position. What other particles follow the same rule?

Ille vir: the shepherd.

rē: i.e. *re familiari, of little wealth.* The preposition might have been omitted, and then the construction would be an ablative of characteristic.

plēnus: final *s* is here elided, a common practice in the early poets; but it was generally sounded in Cicero's time. **733, 1, N. 2** (**608**, I. **N. 3**); A. 375, *a*; G. 703, 3; L. 2468.

fidēī: *trustworthiness.* This form is older than *fideī*. **134, 1** (**120, 2**); M. 55; A. 72, N.; G. 63, 2, N. 1; B. 52, 1; L. 160.

quamquam: corrective, = καίτοι, *and yet.* *etsi* in § 2 has the same force; but *quamquam* is more frequently used to modify a previous statement than *etsi*.

sīc: Reid thinks the line has been changed from the original and *sic* inserted to correspond with *ut* before *Flamininum*.

que . . . que: rarely used for *et . . . et* except in poetry.

nōvī: perfect with the force of the present.

moderātiōnem: *self-control;* an observance of the proper limit (*modus*); keeping within due bounds.

aequitātem: *even balance;* to be taken like *moderationem* with *animi*.

prūdentiam: not "prudence," but *practical wisdom, good sense.*

eīsdem rēbus: the condition of the state after Caesar's death; namely, the increasing power of Antony and the uncertainty as to his ultimate designs.

mē ipsum: in the same case as *te*. It is used instead of the more accurate *quibus ego ipse commoveor*.

gravius: the comparative has the force of "too."

quārum: objective genitive.

māior: *i.e.* too great to be set forth in this treatise.

autem: *however*. For the exact force of the adversative particles, see **659** (**554**, III. **2**); M. 465, 5; A. 156, *b*; G. 483–491; B. 343; L. 1676–1683.

ad tē: *i.e.* dedicated to Atticus.

2. certē: *at least*.

adventantis: observe the iterative or intensive form of the verb; *coming rapidly on*.

etsī: see on *quamquam* above.

tē quidem: *you surely*, whatever others might do.

Sed: this indicates a return to the thought in *Nunc . . . visum est*, after a brief digression.

eō mūnere . . . ūterētur: *such a gift as we might enjoy in common.* *eo* = *tali*. For *uteretur*, see **591**, **1** (**503**, I.); M. 383; A. 320; G. 631, 1; B. 283; L. 1818.

cōnfectiō: *the task of writing*.

effēcerit: for the tense, see **550** (**495**, VI.); M. 316, 2; A. 287, *c* and R.; G. 513; B. 268, 6; L. 1757.

cui quī . . . possit: equivalent to *cum is, qui ei pareat . . . possit*. Note the juxtaposition of the two relatives. *possit* is a subjunctive of cause or reason. It gives the reason for the very strong statement in the preceding sentence, *Numquam . . . poterit*. *pareat* depends upon *possit* and is attracted into the same mood. This seems to me the best explanation of the construction, and it is the one given by most editors. Reid, however, regards *cui* as simply connective, = *et ei*, and *qui pareat . . . degere* as a conditional sentence of irregular form (*qui* = *siquis*).

omne tempus aetātis: *every period of life*.

3. Sed: see on *sed* above.

cēterīs: in the neuter gender. It refers to other philosophical topics, and not to other periods of life or to the political troubles of the day. It is proleptic or anticipatory in its use, looking forward to *de senectute* and excluding from present consideration all themes but that. Cicero had already discussed many philosophical questions, and had in mind additional treatises of a kindred nature, but now he proposed to write only on Old Age.

dīximus multa et saepe dīcēmus: observe the chiastic arrangement.

mīsimus: the perfect here accords with the epistolary style. **539, 1** (**472**, 1); M. 313; A. 282; G. 252; B. 265; L. 1601.

tribuimus: perfect tense.

parum . . . in fābulā: *i.e.* if the principal speaker in the dialogue should be a mythical personage and not an actual historical character.

esset: for the mood, see **553, 2** (**486**, I. N. **2**); M. 327; A. 311, *a*; G. 600, 2; L. 1560, *c*.

apud quem: *at whose house.* The scene is laid at the house of Cato. With this use of *apud*, cf. the Greek *παρά* and French *chez*.

facimus: *represent.* It is used in the sense of *inducimus*.

ferat: **588**, II (**516**, II.); M. 357; A. 341, *d*; G. 541; B. 286, 1; L. 1725.

Quī: equivalent to *et is*. The relative is frequently employed in this manner to connect a sentence with the foregoing where the English would use a conjunction and demonstrative. **510** (**453**); M. 455; A. 180, *f*; G. 610; B. 251, 6; L. 1835. For a fuller account of this usage, see Madvig, 448.

ēruditius: Cicero here anticipates the criticism that he well knew would be urged against his representation of Cato as a man conversant with Greek philosophy and an admirer of Grecian culture. See Introduction, p. 35.

suīs librīs: note the emphatic position of *suis*.

plūra: sc. *dicere*.

Iam: *straightway.*

explicābit: *unfold.* Cf. English *explication*.

dē senectūte: observe the attributive arrangement, giving the prepositional phrase the force of an adjective.

II. **4. cum hōc**: "with this Laelius here present." Note the use of *cum . . . cum*, and see note on XIX. 67.

rērum: objective genitive, limiting *sapientiam*.

excellentem: *superior*, when compared with the wisdom of others.

quod . . . sēnserim: the subjunctive is used with *quod* to assign a reason on the authority of a person other than the speaker. This principle of construction is also applied to a reason based upon the speaker's own

thought at some previous time. **588**, II. 1 (**516**, II. 1); M. 357; A. 341, *d*, R.; G. 541; B. 286, 1, *a*; L. 1855; Madvig, 357, *a*, 1 and 2.

sīc: *ita* might have been employed, but *sic*, as a correlative to the following *ut*, is more emphatic.

odiōsa: *disagreeable;* it should not be rendered "hateful."

Quibus: the dative of possession.

enim: *certainly*, as in § 1.

bene beātēque vīvendum: *a pure and happy life.* Cf. *De Fin.* V. 29, 88, *Nec dubitatum quin in virtute omnis, ut bene, sic etiam beate vivendi spes poneretur.*

ipsī: observe that the demonstrative is made to agree with the subject, and not with *se.*

necessitās: *law.*

adferat: subjunctive of characteristic; see **591, 1** (**503**, I.); M. 383; A. 320; G. 631, 2; B. 283; L. 1821. Some editors, however, regard *quod* as equal to *si id*, and the subjunctive as conditional.

Quō in genere: note the order. A monosyllabic preposition is often thus placed between a qualifying word and its noun, as *quam ob rem, magna cum laude.*

ut . . . adeptam: chiastic arrangement. The reading *adeptam* is not certain. Some MSS. and many editions have *adepti*, but the meaning is practically the same in either case. The objection to *adeptam*, that Cicero nowhere else uses it in the passive, is not conclusive, from the fact that he does sometimes employ the perfect participle of other deponent verbs in the passive, and Sallust, *Cat.* VII. 3, has *adepta libertate;* Tacitus, *Ann.* I. 7, 8, *adepto principatu.*

stultitiae: translate, *foolish men;* the abstract is here used for the concrete.

āiunt: those who say this are the *stulti* implied in *stultitiae.*

putāssent: the subjunctive in a dependent clause in the indirect discourse.

falsum: *that which is untrue.* Note the substantival use of the adjective.

Quī: *how.* For this case-form, used as an adverb, see **184, 4** (**188**, II. **2**); M. 83, 1; A. 104, *c*; G. 105, 3; B. 90, 2, *a*; L. 689.

Praeterita enim: *enim* is here explicative. See on I. 1.

quamvīs longa: *however long.*

cum effluxisset: the subjunctive is used because the clause depends upon *posset.* The case is a supposed one, and *cum* has practically the force of *si*, *if.*

cōnsōlātiō: this is the reading of the best MSS. Many editors prefer to follow inferior MSS., and read *consolatione.*

posset: for the mood, see on *esset*, I. 3.

5. **quae**: see on *qui*, I. 3.

esset: this is a more modest form of wish than *utinam sit*. The imperfect implies that Cato does not think his wisdom worthy of their admiration.

tamquam deum: the masculine is here used in the generic sense, *a divine being*. Cf. Sen. *Ben.* IV. 7, 1, *Quid enim aliud est natura quam deus et divina ratio toti mundo partibus eius inserta.*

ā quā: equivalent to *ab ea enim;* the reference is to Nature, which is here personified.

aetātis: employed in the sense of *vitae*.

dēscrīptae: some editors prefer *discriptae*, for which there is also MS. authority; but *descriptae*, *written out*, seems to harmonize better with the context than *discriptae*, *assigned*. — Reid.

inertī: *indolent*.

fuit: *i.e.* it was and always will be. It is according to the nature of things.

aliquid extrēmum: *something final*.

bācīs . . . frūctibus: note the difference in the meaning of these words, here distinctly brought out by the genitives *arborum* and *terrae*.

viētum: *vimen* and *vitis* have also the same root.

cadūcum: *ready to fall;* derived from *cado*.

quod: *but this*. The leading thought is really found in this clause.

ferundum: for this form, instead of *ferendum*, see **243** (**239**); M. 101, 6; [A. 126, f. n. 2; G. 130, 8; B. 116, 2; L. 899.

molliter: *with submission*.

Gigantum: see on *Aetna gravius*, p. 48. *For what else but resisting nature is equivalent to fighting as the giants did against the gods?* The English arrangement of the clauses differs somewhat from the Latin. Howson gives a very concise rendering, "Rebellion against nature is nothing else but war with the gods."

6. **Atquī**: Reid translates, *True, but*. *Atqui* is here used to confirm the preceding statement, and also to add another point to the argument.

nōbīs: explained by the clause, *ut . . . pollicear*.

pollicear: *to promise*. The principal clause, on which the final clause depends, may sometimes be omitted, as in this instance. It must then be inferred from the context.

fēceris . . . didicerimus: future perfect tense, where the English would employ the simple future. In place of *didicerimus*, Gernhard suggested that *si nos docueris*, *if you shall have taught us*, would have been more natural after *feceris*. The change was probably made because *didicerimus* puts the statement, which is practically a request, in a milder way, and also harmonizes with the intervening forms, *speramus* and *volumus*.

quibus . . . rationibus: *how*, i.e. *by what course of reasoning.*

ingravēscentem: note the inceptive force, *beginning to grow heavy, becoming more and more burdensome.*

possīmus: the subjunctive used in a dependent question.

vestrūm. Why *vestrum* and not *vestri?*

cōnfēceris: **584, 2** (**513**, II. N. **1**); M. 375; A. 312, R.; G. 602; B. 307, 2; L. 2117.

quam . . . ingrediundum sit: equivalent to *quae . . . ingrediunda sit.* **621, 3** (**371**, I. **2**, N.); M. 295, N.; A. 294, *c* (where this example is cited); G. 427, 2; L. 2247. For the form *ingrediundum*, see on *ferundum*, II. 5.

istūc: the object of *videre*. Note its force as the so-called demonstrative of the second person. With *quo pervenisti* it is equivalent to "the end of your journey."

III. 7. Faciam, ut poterō: *I will do the best I can.* The Latin uses *potero* and not *possum*, because the time of the subordinate clause is in reality future. In English the future in the principal clause (*faciam*) is sufficient to indicate the real time involved in both clauses. **536, 1** (**470, 2**); M. 311; A. 278, *b*; G. 242, 1; B. 261, 2; L. 1625.

interfuī: *interfui querelis* here means, "I have been present when complaints were made," and so, "I have heard the complaints."

quae: a case of anacoluthon. The construction is changed after the parenthetical clause, *pares autem*. The words *quae deplorare* refer to the idea in *querelis*. The author proceeds to give specific instances of the complaints to which a general allusion is made in the first part of the sentence.

cōnsulārēs: *ex-consuls.* Cicero was quite careful to apply this term of respect to all who were entitled to it. He was very proud of the fact that he was himself a *consularis*. — Shuckburgh.

nostrī ferē aequālēs: Cato was consul in the year 195 B.C.

carērent . . . spernerentur: the subjunctive, because the reasons are stated on the authority of Salinator and Albinus. See on *ferat*, I. 3, and *senserim*, II. 4.

vītam nūllam: "life was not worth the living."

putārent . . . essent solitī: these verbs depend upon subjunctives and take the same mood; see **652, 1** (**529**, II. N. **1, 1**); M. 405; A. 342; G. 663; B. 324; L. 1728.

Quī: see on I. 3.

mihi: note its emphatic position.

esset accūsandum: for the mood, see on *uteretur*, I. 2.

Nam: stronger than *enim;* the latter is corroborative and explanatory, while *nam* formally introduces a real reason. See on *enim*, I. 1.

id: refers to the two complaints mentioned above, *carerent* and *sper-*

nerentur, and treats them for the moment as involving but one idea; namely, the hard lot of old age.

accideret . . . venīrent: observe the mood and tense.

ūsū: *usu venire, to come in experience*, i.e. *to happen, to occur*. Some editors think *usu* may be a predicative dative. Roby, 1238, regards it as an ablative of manner. For the numerous instances of this expression in Cicero, see Harpers' Lat. Lex. s.v. *usus*, II. C. 2.

quōrum . . . querēlā: *and yet I have observed that the old age of many of them is free from complaint.* The phrase *sine querela* has the force of an adjective. The prepositions *cum* and *sine* are frequently used in such attributive expressions.

quī . . . ferrent: subjunctive of characteristic.

nōn molestē: litotes, *not ill*, i.e. *gladly*, *libenter*. Instead of the usual *nec . . . nec*, the first connective is divided into *et . . . non;* this throws the force of the negative particle on *moleste*.

8. sed fōrtasse dīxerit quispiam: *but perhaps some one may say.* That this may be taken as the meaning of the Latin is perfectly apparent; the exact construction of *dixerit*, however, is a mooted question. Many editors regard it as a potential subjunctive, in which the perfect has practically the same force as the present. Roby, vol. II. Pref. pp. 101-106, after a careful consideration of the subject, inclines strongly to the opinion that the verb is future perfect indicative.

opēs: *influence*, in the state.

cōpiās: wealth.

dīgnitātem: *rank, high social standing.*

tolerābiliōrem: observe the passive force of this verbal adjective, "that which can be endured."

id: *i.e.* the possession of so many desirable things; such good fortune.

istud: see on *istuc*, II. 6.

levis . . . gravis: chiastic arrangement.

nec . . . nōn gravis: *nor can it fail to be burdensome.*

9. omnīnō: *certainly.*

arma: *defensive weapons.*

senectūtis: subjective genitive.

artēs exercitātiōnēsque virtūtum: *knowledge and good deeds.* With *artes* sc. *liberales.* But Cicero has especially in mind the effect of *artes liberales* or *optimae* in giving one *knowledge* and *intellectual power.*

cultae: the participle has a conditional force, *if cultivated.*

cum . . . vīxeris: for this use of the subjunctive in a general condition, see **602, 4** (**518, 2**); A. 309, *a*; G. 595, 3; B. 356, 3; L. 2110.

ecferunt: an earlier form for *efferunt*.

numquam dēserunt: Reid very aptly compares this passage with *Pro Arch.* 7, *at haec studia.*

quamquam: see on I. 1.

cōnscientia . . . recordātiō: observe the order.

bene factōrum: participles when used substantively sometimes retain their adverbial modifiers.

IV. **10. Ego**: emphatic.

eum . . . recēpit: these words are regarded as a gloss by some editors, but there seems to be no sufficient reason for rejecting them from the text. *eum* is in apposition with *Maximum.*

cōmitāte . . . gravitās: *dignity seasoned with courtesy. condita* is from *condire.*

mōrēs: *character, disposition.*

Quamquam: corrective, as in I. 1.

eum colere coepī: *I learned to respect him. colere* expresses the feeling of a young man for an older and more experienced friend.

ad Capuam: for the use of *ad* with the name of a town, see **418, 4 (380,** II. **1,** (1)); M. 199, 2, N. 1; A. 258, 1, *b*, N. 2; G. 337, 4; B. 182, 3; L. 1160.

quadriennio post: *i.e.* after an interval of four complete years.

quem magistrātum gessī: *an office which I held. Quaestor* implies *quaesturam*, which explains *magistratum.*

cum quidem: = *tum quidem cum, at that time namely, when.*—Meissner.

suāsor . . . fuit: *spoke in favor of.* What kind of a noun is *suasor?*

cum: concessive.

rem: i.e. *rem publicam.*

Noenum: from *ne* + *oenum* (*unum*), an old form for *non.* Most editors follow Lachman, who suggested *noenum* in place of *non enim* of the MSS.

rūmōrēs: the harsh reports circulated by those who were dissatisfied with Fabius' slow methods. Some, however, understand it in the sense of "fame."

pōnēbāt: for the quantity of *a*, see on *versat*, I. 1.

plūsque magisque: the MS. reading is *postque magisque.* Bernays suggested *plusque*, which Reid adopts; Bergk proposed *priusque* and is followed by Sommerbrodt.

11. cum quidem: see on § 10.

in togā: in civil life, as a statesman.

iterum: numeral adverbs are frequently used with official titles.

virītim: *among the plebs.*

contrā senātūs auctōritātem: *against the will of the senate.* An *auctoritas senatus* was a resolution passed by the senators as expressive of their sentiments, but lacking the completeness and legal force of a decree, *consultum.* In this instance the senate favored the aristocracy against the plebeians.

dīvidentī: *attempting to divide.*

cum esset: concessive.

gererentur: the subjunctive because dependent upon an infinitive and essential to the general thought of the sentence.

ferrentur: *ferre legem* is the regular Latin expression for the English, "to propose a law," "to introduce a bill." For the mood of *ferrentur*, see on *gererentur*, above.

12. admīrābilius: *more worthy of admiration.*

quō modō: equivalent to *modum quo.*

in manibus: sc. *omnium, in every one's hands,* and so, *well-known.*

quam: = *et eam.*

philosophum . . . contemnimus: the calm and dignified manner in which Fabius bore his grief at the loss of his son impressed Cato more forcibly than any philosophical theorizing about the proper method of enduring such affliction.

in lūce: "in the light of publicity."

in oculīs: i.e. *before his fellow-citizens, in their presence.* It does not mean "in their estimation."

Quī . . . praecepta: *what a gift he had for entertaining and instructing!* — Meissner.

Multae . . . litterae: *he was well read for a Roman.* This use of *ut* to limit a preceding statement is not uncommon.

externa bella: the wars of foreign nations.

ita: to be taken with *fruebar.* It is explained by *quasi . . . divinarem.*

unde: equivalent to *a quo.*

discerem: see on *ferrent,* III. 7.

V. 13. Quōrsus . . . tam multa: sc. *dixi;* some editors understand *pertinent* or *spectant.* For similar elliptical expressions, see XII. 42; XIII. 44. They naturally follow a lengthy exposition.

Quia profectō: *because certainly.* The reply might have taken the form of a purpose clause, "That you might certainly see."

senectūtem: note its emphatic position at the close of the sentence.

Nec: equivalent to *et non, and yet all cannot be.*

Scīpiōnēs . . . Māximī: *such men as Scipio or Maximus.*

expūgnātiōnēs: the plural of the abstract noun is used to denote frequent instances of the act. Abstracts in the plural are less common in English than in Latin.

recordentur: for the cases admissible with *recordor*, see **455** (**407**, N. **1**); M. 227, 3; A. 219, *b*; G. 376, 2; L. 1288.

Est . . . senectūs: "A life passed with repose and refinement and taste has for its part (*etiam*) a calm and gentle old age." — L. Huxley. Observe the connectives; *quiete* corresponds to *pure atque eleganter*.

quālem: sc. *fuisse senectutem*.

vīxitque: *and yet he lived.* The enclitic is adversative in force.

cessāvit: he was always at work, never idle.

Quī, cum ex eō quaererētur: we might have expected *Ex quo cum quaereretur*. The imperfect in *quaereretur* accords with the real time involved in the historical present, *inquit*.

esse in vītā: *to live.* The ancients believed suicide right and desirable under certain circumstances.

quod accūsem: for the construction after *nihil habeo*, see **591, 4** (**503**, I. N. **2**) (where this example is cited); A. 320, *a*; G. 631, 2; L. 1822.

doctō homine: *a philosopher.*

14. Sua . . . suam: emphatic.

fortis: *gallant.* The lines are taken from the eighth book of the *Annales*.

spatiō . . . suprēmō: *at the end of the race.*

Vīcit Olympia: *has won the Olympic prize. Olympia* may be regarded as a cognate accusative. This use of *vincere* is in imitation of the Greek Ὀλύμπια νικᾶν. The Olympic games, the greatest of the national festivals of the Greeks, were celebrated every four years at Olympia in Elis.

cōnfectus: see on *plenus*, I. 1.

Quem . . . meminisse: for the accusative with *meminisse*, see **454, 2** (**407**, N. **1**, (**2**)); M. 227, 1, 2; A. 219, 2, *a*; G. 376, 2; B. 206, 1, *a*; L. 1288.

hī cōnsulēs: *the present consuls*, namely in the year 150 B.C., the supposed date of the dialogue.

māgnā vōce et bonīs lateribus: *with loud voice and good lungs.*

15. Etenim: *and indeed;* this marks a transition to the real discussion of the subject, *senectus*.

videātur: observe Cicero says not "is," but *seems*.

āvocet . . . faciat . . . prīvet . . . absit: the subjunctive is used because the reason in each instance is not the speaker's, but one urged by those who find fault with old age; see on *ferat*, I. 3.

ā rēbus gerendīs: *from active duties.*

īnfīrmius: *weaker*, than it had been before.

quanta quamque . . . iūsta: *how important and how reasonable.*

VI. Ā rēbus . . . abstrahit: a statement of the topic to be discussed.

Quibus: preposition and verb to be supplied from the preceding sentence.

An eīs: there is an ellipsis of *omnibusne*, the first alternative. "Does old age take us away from all duties, or only from those," etc. An affirmative answer to *an eis* is implied. See **380, 3** (**353, 2**, N. **4**); M. 385, 5; A. 211, *b*; G. 457; B. 162, 4, *a*; L. 1508.

iuventūte . . . et vīribus: *youthful vigor;* an example of hendiadys.

Nūllaene: the interrogative particle is appended to the emphatic word.

īnfirmīs corporibus: ablative absolute; equivalent to a concessive clause.

animō: the intellectual power of old men is contrasted with the physical vigor of youth, *iuventute et viribus.*

administrentur: the subjunctive of characteristic.

cum . . . dēfendēbant: *cum* is here merely temporal; see **601** (**521**, II. **1**); M. 344; A. 325, *a*; G. 580; B. 288, 1, A; L. 1860.

16. nōn dubitāvit: *he did not hesitate.*

Quō vōbīs . . . viāī: from the sixth book of the *Annales.*

vōbīs: the dative of reference; it may be translated *your.*

Antehāc: to be read as a dissyllable.

dēmentēs: observe the oxymoron, *witless wits.*

viāī: an old form of the genitive. It is to be taken as a partitive limiting *Quo.*

et tamen: *and yet.* The meaning is this: it is not necessary to rely on Ennius' account of the speech; the oration itself can be consulted at first hand.

cum: *though.*

cēnsor: it was very unusual for one to be elected censor before he had held the consulship.

grandem sānē fuisse: as he was probably not less than forty-three when he was first made consul he must have been seventy or more at the outbreak of the war with Pyrrhus, 280 B.C.

17. Nihil . . . adferunt: *they prove nothing.*

negant: avoid the literal rendering, "deny."

similēsque sunt ut sī quī: an unusual combination, employed to introduce a supposed example, *i.e.* "It is about the same as if one should say that the pilot does nothing on the voyage." Those who declare that old age is idle, display as little reason as those who say the pilot has nothing to do.

cum: causal, *since.*

nōn faciat . . . iuvenēs. At vērō . . . facit: this is Reid's text.

Many editors prefer *Non facit . . . facit*. The MS. reading is *faciat . . . faciat*, except in one instance in which *facit* is found in the last clause. Meissner brackets *non faciat . . . faciat*.

māiōra et meliōra: *i.e.* involving more responsibility and contributing more to the safety of the others.

quibus: note its twofold construction with *orbari* and *augeri*.

18. Nisi fōrte: ironical.

mīles . . . cōnsul: see Introduction, p. 33. Note the repetition of the connective.

genere: note the use of the singular where the English idiom requires the plural.

male . . . cōgitantī: *treacherously plotting*.

iam diū . . . multō ante: the first expression emphasizes the continuance of the plotting; the second shows that Cato began to urge war against Carthage long before it was officially declared. The present in *denuntio* implies that he has been and is still advocating the commencement of hostilities.

excīsam: some editors read *exscissam* from *exscindo*.

19. utinam . . . tibi reservent: we are to remember the date of the supposed dialogue, 150 B.C., and the actual time of writing, 44 B.C.

avī: P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus Maior.

reliquiās: that which was left unfinished by Scipio's grandfather. With this construction cf. Verg. *Aen.* I. 30, *reliquias Danaum atque immitis Achilli.*

tertius . . . trīcēsimus: all the MSS. have *tertius*, which puts Scipio's death in 183 B.C , and so agrees with Livy, XXXIX. 50. 10; but since this conflicts with the statement *Anno ante me censorem* and also with *novem annis post . . . consulatum*, for Cato was consul 195 and censor 184 B.C., some editors read *sextus* or *quintus*, making 185 B.C. the date of his death. This will remove the discrepancy, but involves a change in the text. The numbers VI. and III. might easily be confused by a copyist.

iterum: to be taken with *consul creatus est*, *elected consul for the second time*, which would make his election fall in the year 195 and his term of office 194 B.C.

Num: observe the force of the interrogative particle.

paenitēret: the imperfect instead of the pluperfect, to denote continuance of the action.

enim: *enim* presupposes a negative answer and gives the reason for such a reply.

hastīs: the allusion is really to the *pilum*, which was shorter than the *hasta* proper and was used for hurling long distances.

cōnsiliō . . . sententiā: cf. *consilio . . . sententia*, § 17.

quae: equivalent to *et ea*. The neuter is used because the antecedents are not of the same gender and do not refer to living beings.

senātum: a body of old men. *senatus* and *senex* have the same root *sen*. Cf. also XVI. 56, *senatores, id est senes*.

20. volētis: note the exactness of the Latin in the use of the future in this instance. Cf. *faciam ut potero*, III. 7.

externa: the history of foreign nations.

Cedo . . . citō: the verse is an acatalectic iambic tetrameter. The spondee may take the place of the iambus in any foot except the last. The following is the scansion: —

⏑ ⏑ –́, – –, – –́, ⏑ – ‖ – –́, – –, – –́, ⏑ –.

Cedo: *give, tell;* an old imperative of uncertain origin. Its plural is *cette*.

quī: *how*.

tantam: "great as it was."

percontantibus . . . respondentur: suggested by Mommsen and adopted by Kornitzer in place of *percontantur, ut est in . . . Ludo; respondentur*.

Lūdō: neither the reading nor the meaning is very certain. It may be the particular name of the play or the general word for a dramatic production.

Prōveniēbant . . . adulēscentulī: in the same measure as the preceding and scanned thus: —

– ⏑́ ⏑, – –, – –́, – – ‖ ⏑ –́, – ⏑ ⏑, – –́, ⏑ –;

the spondee, or its equivalent, may replace the iambus except in the last foot; accordingly we have the dactyl in the first and sixth places.

Prōveniēbant: many editors take this as an agricultural term, "they were coming forward," or "springing up," *i.e.* as crops grow.

VII. **21. At memoria minuitur**: *at* introduces a supposed objection, stated merely for the purpose of refutation.

Crēdō: in an ironical sense; "undoubtedly."

exerceās: for the mood and the use of the second person, see **578, 2** (**508, 5, 2**); M. 363, 2; A. 309, *a*; G. 595, 3; B. 302, 2; L. 2070.

nātūrā tardior: *a little slow*, or *dull, naturally*.

aetāte prōcessisset: cf. *aetate provectum*, IV. 10. For the mood, see **643** (**524**); M. 392; A. 336, B, *a*, N. 2; G. 650; B. 314; L. 1722.

quī Aristīdēs . . . solitum: *that he was accustomed to greet Aristides as Lysimachus*. After the analogy of verbs of naming, *salutare* may take

two accusatives, but in this instance two accusatives would be ambiguous, therefore *qui Aristides esset, the one who was Aristides*, is used in place of one. *Lysimachum* must be translated *as Lysimachus*, i.e. he was not in the habit of taking Aristides for Lysimachus by mistake. *esset* is in the subjunctive because it depends upon an infinitive; see note on *putarent*, III. 7.

Equidem: from the interjection *e* + *quidem;* usually employed with the first person singular; *for my part, so far as I am concerned.* Observe that, unlike *quidem*, it may stand first in its clause.

sunt: equivalent to *vivunt.*

sepulcra: *epitaphs.* He was gathering material for his *Origines.*

quod āiunt: *ut aiunt* and *ut dicitur* are more common in this sense. Long, in commenting on this passage, says: "It was, says Erasmus, a popular notion that it injured the memory to read sepulchral inscriptions. I do not know where Erasmus got this from." Otto, *Sprichwörter der Römer*, p. 218, thinks these words have no reference to a proverb, but rather to a common superstition that one who spends his time in reading epitaphs and studying the history of ancient times is apt to forget the present and become unfitted for his ordinary duties.

senem: used instead of a clause, *when*, or *because, he was an old man.*

vadimōnia cōnstitūta: *engagements at court.* This expression applies to both plaintiff and defendant. To give bail is *vadimonium promittere.* Cf. Hor. *Sat.* I. 9, 36, *et casu tunc respondere vadato Debebat.*

22. Quid: for rhetorical effect in passing to another point. It may be rendered *furthermore.* The following nominatives are subjects of *meminerunt*, "Furthermore, how many things jurisconsults, pontiffs, augurs, and philosophers remember, even in their old age!"

ingenia: *mental powers*, i.e. their inborn talents.

modo: *provided, if only.*

honōrātīs: those who have held public offices, *honores.* It is contrasted with *privata;* so *claris* with *quieta.*

quod . . . cum: *and when on account of his zeal for writing.*

rem . . . familiārem: *his property.*

ā fīliīs: according to the common version of the story, by his oldest son, Iophon.

in . . . vocātus est: a Roman legal expression. The first step in an action was the summons before the magistrate, *vocatio in ius*, to determine whether there was an actual cause for trial.

nostrō mōre: such provision was made by the law of the XII. Tables.

male rem gerentibus: *mismanaging their property.*

patribus bonīs interdīcī: *patribus* is in the dative; *bonis*, in the ablative, meaning, *from the control of their property*. For this construction, with *interdici*, see Harpers' *Lat. Lex.* s.v. *interdico*, B, *δ*.

eam fābulam: *the play*.

in manibus: *i.e.* he was still engaged in perfecting it. The expression, *in manibus*, in IV. 12, has a different meaning.

proximē: *lately*.

sententiīs . . . est līberātus: *he was acquitted by the votes of the judges*.

23. Num igitur hunc: Cato now mentions Greek poets and philosophers who continued their intellectual pursuits even in extreme old age.

studiōrum agitātiō: "vigorous pursuit of their studies."

24. Age: marking a transition in the discourse.

ut . . . omittāmus: a final clause. The verb on which it depends is to be supplied.

possum: see on XVI. 55.

ex . . . Sabīnō: where Cato had his country home.

serendīs . . . percipiendīs . . . condendīs frūctibus: gerundive construction in the ablative of specification. In rendering, use the active form, *in storing the produce*.

in aliīs: proleptic; i.e. *in other things* except the one which follows, namely, the planting of trees. Some editors prefer *his*, which is the reading of one MS.

annum: "one year more."

īdem: the nominative plural.

Serīt . . . prōsint: the bacchius (⏑ ∠ —) is the fundamental foot of the verse, which may be scanned as follows: —

⏑ ∠ —, ⏑ ∠ —, ⏑ ∠ —, — ∠ —.

The final syllable in *serit* is made long by the ictus; the last foot is a molossus, but some editors regard *o* in *saeclo* as short, an example of systole.

quae . . . prōsint: a final clause.

saeclō: *generation*,

25. quamvīs sit: a concessive clause.

haec: his estate.

VIII. Caecilius: Caecilius Statius.

alterī saeclō prōspiciente: *prospiciens* with the dative means not only "looking forward to," but "looking out for." The allusion is to the quotation above, *Serit . . . prosint*.

illud: *the following.*

Idem: *i.e.* Caecilius; sc. *dixit.*

Edepol . . . videt: taken from Caecilius' play entitled *Plocium* (*The Necklace*), based upon one of Menander's. The lines are iambic senarii and may be scanned as follows:—

Edepól senectus sí nil quicqu^{am} aliúd viti
Adpórtes tecum, c^{um} ádvenis, un^{um} íd sat est,
Quod diú vivendo múlta, quae non vólt videt.

Edepol is an anapaest; *diu* is pronounced as a monosyllable. Tischer, however, scans *quŏd dĭū.*

Edepol: formed from the old interjection *e* + *deus* + *Pollux;* literally, *Ah! god Pollux;* render *indeed, truly.*

quicquam: pleonastic with *nil.*

vitī: from *vitium.*

videt: *experiences;* its subject, the indefinite *one*, is implied in *diu vivendo*, which is equal to *si quis diu vivit.*

incurrit: a stronger word than *incidit;* indicating the impetuosity of youth.

Illud: see on *illud* above.

vērō . . . vitiōsius: *still more objectionable.*

Tum equidem . . . alterī: taken from a play of Caecilius entitled *Ephesio;* in the same measure as the verses above and may be scanned thus:—

T^{um} equid^{em} ín senect^{a} hoc députo misérrimum
Sentír^{e} e^{a} aetat^{e} eúmps^{e} ess^{e} odios^{um} álteri.

Observe the anapaest in the first line and the dactyl in the second.

senectā: found mostly in poetry and post-Augustan prose.

eumpse: archaic for *ipsum*, see **181**, footnote **3** (**186**, V. footnote **5**); A. 100, *c*; G. 103, 3, N. 1; L. 680. It refers to a person implied in the abstract *senecta* and is the subject of *sentire.*

odiōsum: *disagreeable.*

26. indole: *inborn, natural quality.* Found only once in the plural, Gell. XIX. 12, 5.

dēlectantur: *take pleasure in.*

coluntur et dīliguntur: *are honored and esteemed. colere* means *to regard one with honor* or *reverence; diligere* (*dis* + *legere*) implies love based upon respect; *amare, to love*, from affection or passion.

praeceptīs: in the locative ablative.

minus: modifies *iucundos*.

quam . . . iūcundōs: we might expect *quam mihi vos estis iucundi;* see on *me ipsum*, I. 1.

Sed: *but to return to the point.* With *et melius Caecilius*, Cato began a digression from the course of his argument.

ut: an interrogative particle, *how*.

senectūs: abstract for concrete; *old men*.

mōliēns: *undertaking*. The participle differs from the verb here in emphasizing the continuance of the action.

cūiusque: sc. *senis*.

Quid . . . aliquid: "What shall we say of those who are always adding something to their knowledge." *Quid* is for rhetorical effect; see on VII. 22.

et Solōnem: contrasted with *et ego*, below.

senex: *when I was an old man.*

sīc: to be taken with *quasi* and not with *avide*.

exemplīs: *as illustrations.*

in fidibus: *on the lyre.*

vellem: for the full construction, Lahmeyer cites *Tusc.* I. 41, 98, *Equidem saepe emori, si fieri posset, vellem.* **553, 556** (**486, I. 1, 2**); M. 327; A. 311, *a*, *b*; G. 257, N. 2; B. 280, 2, *a*; L. 1560.

discēbant . . . fidibus: sc. *canere*, *to play upon.*

sed in . . . ēlabōrāvī: *but in literature, at least, I have accomplished something.*

IX. 27. Nec nunc quidem, etc.: Cato begins the refutation of the second charge against old age. *Nec* joins the sentence to the preceding and shows its negative character; *Nor do I now indeed feel the want of*, etc.

locus alter: *the second topic.* Cf. V. 15, *alteram quod corpus . . . infirmius.*

nōn plūs quam: *any more than.*

taurī aut elephantī: sc. *vires.*

Quod est: sc. *tibi.*

quicquid agās: the subjunctive is used in a general condition to denote the act of an indefinite subject, *whatever one does.*

Quae enim . . . Crotōniātae: a question implying a negative answer is here used, for rhetorical effect, instead of a direct statement.

lacertōs: *muscles. lacertus* refers to the upper arm, from the elbow (*ulna*) to the shoulder (*umerus*), in distinction from the fore-arm (*bracchium*).

At: indicating emotion. It implies an ellipsis, "How I would like to exercise with you, but." — Sommerbrodt.

istī: note the force of this demonstrative.

ex tē: *i.e.* on account of your intellectual ability and personal character.

est prōvēcta: *continued.*

prūdentia: sc. *iuris.*

28. Ōrātor: the position of the word shows that it is used to introduce a new topic; *As for the orator, I fear lest he be enfeebled by old age.*

Omnīnō: concessive, *true, to be sure;* it is about equivalent to *sane.*

canōrum . . . splendēscit: note the mixed metaphor, "sound shining with luster." Examples of a similar usage attributing brightness to sound are found among Greek writers.

et vidētis: *et* is adversative, *and yet you see.*

Sed tamen: opposed to *Omnino* above.

decōrus: predicative.

senī: the reading of Madvig for *senis.*

sermō: *style of speaking.*

Scīpiōnī . . . Laeliō: *a Scipio and a Laelius;* i.e. to young men like these.

senectūte stīpātā studiīs iuventūtis: observe the alliteration, and the use of abstract terms. Translate *studiis iuventutis, by young men eager to learn.*

29. doceat, īnstituat . . . instruat: *teach, train, prepare.*

cōnsenuerint . . . dēfēcerint: for the mood, see **586, II. 2 (515, III. N. 3)**; M. 378, 2; A. 313, *a*; G. 606; B. 309, 1; L. 1905.

Etsī: see on *quamquam*, I. 1.

30. quidem: used to introduce an important illustration, *Cyrus for example.*

moriēns: "on his death-bed."

cum . . . esset: concessive; to be taken with the following clause.

admodum senex: he is said to have been seventy.

negat: the present may be used of authors whose works are extant; see **533, 3 (467, 3)**; A. 276, *f*; G. 227; L. 1592.

cum: *although.*

bonīs . . . vīribus: the ablative of characteristic.

esse: for the present infinitive depending upon *memini*, see **618, 2 (537, 1)**; A. 336, A, N. 1; G. 281, 2, N.; L. 2220.

Nihil: to be taken with *necesse.*

mihi: the dative depends upon *necesse est*, and is used instead of the accusative, to emphasize the person.

id: refers to *de me ipso dicere.*

X. 31. Vidētisne: *ne* appended to the principal verb often has the force of *nonne*, and expects the answer *yes*.

ut: *how*.

praedicet: *boasts*.

vidēbat: this is a better reading than *vivebat*, which some editors adopt.

vēra praedicāns: the participle takes the place of a conditional clause.

īnsolēns: *arrogant*.

Etenim: adds a statement corroborative of the foregoing.

egēbat: *egere, to be destitute of something which one needs; indigere, to feel the need*, differing from *egere* in emphasizing the *sense of need* rather than the need itself; *desiderare, to miss, to long for; requirere, to ask back again*, i.e. to feel the loss and ask to have it repaired; *carere, to be without*, — generally, though not always, in reference to something desirable; *opus esse, to need something for use; vacare, to be free from*, — usually in respect to what is undesirable.

dux ille Graeciae: Agamemnon. *ille* in the sense of *that well-known, famous*.

nusquam: *nowhere* in the Iliad or Odyssey. [B. 204, 3; L. 1204.

Āiācis: **435, 4,** N. (**391,** II. **4 (2)**); M. 226, 3; A. 234, *d*, 2; G. 359, R. 1;

acciderit: in the subjunctive because in a dependent clause in the *oratio obliqua;* see **644, 2** (**525, 2**); M. 398, 4; A. 337; G. 656, 661; B. 324; L. 2324.

32. Quārtum . . . octōgēsimum: *I am in my eighty-fourth year.*

vellem: see on VIII. 26.

idem: the neuter pronoun used as cognate accusative after *gloriari*.

possem: *ut* is sometimes omitted, especially after *volo, malo, nolo, facio*.

quod: *as*.

mīles . . . quaestor. cf. IV. 10.

dēpūgnāvī: the indicative emphasizes the fact stated.

sed . . . ēnervāvit: a return to the direct discourse.

hospitēs: *guest-friends;* i.e. friends from foreign cities and countries.

fierī: after *monet* the subjunctive might have been used.

māllem: see on *vellem* above. Cato takes the proverb literally, whereas it simply means that one must begin in early years to live prudently, if one desires to reach a good old age.

cui . . . occupātus: "whom I refused to see, on the plea that I was occupied."

fuerim: subjunctive of characteristic introduced by *cui*.

At: see on VII. 21.

33. Moderātiō: *proper control, right use.*

modo: see on VII. 22.

nē: *truly.* For its form and use, see Harpers' Lat. Lex.

nōn . . . dēsīderiō tenēbitur: *will not greatly feel the lack,* stronger than *non desiderabit.*

Olympiae: in the locative like names of towns.

cum . . . sustinēret: translate by the present participle, *bearing on his shoulders.* Many editors cite Quint. I. 9. 5, *Milo, quem vitulum assueverat ferre, taurum ferebat.*

hās corporis: Milo's physical strength.

mālīs: potential subjunctive in an interrogative sentence. Cf. *mallem,* § 32, and note the force of the tense in each.

ūtāre . . . requīrās: see **560, 1**: **561, 2,** N. (**484,** IV. N. **2**: **489, 3**); M. 321, 4; A. 266, *a*: 269, *b*; G. 263, 2, *a*; B. 275, 2: 276, *b*; L. 1550, *b*: 1551.

dum adsit, cum absit: *dum* and *cum* are simply temporal; *adsit* depends upon *utare,* and *absit* upon *requiras.*

nisi fōrte: see on VI. 18.

aetāte prōgressī: cf. *aetate processisset,* VII. 21.

requīrere: see on *egebat,* X. 31.

Īnfirmitās . . . mātūritās: note the apt terms chosen to characterize each period of life.

suō: *its own;* i.e. at the fitting time.

percipī: this is used of the gathering of ripe fruit. Cf. VII. 24, *percipiendis . . . fructibus.*

34. Audīre: the present *audire* is used with the force of the perfect, like the Greek ἀκούειν; *I think you have heard,* and so, *I think you are informed.* — Meissner.

capite opertō: predicate ablative of characteristic.

siccitātem: this term applies to the body of an athlete in training; it denotes hardness of flesh and freedom from humors, impurities, and flabbiness.

XI. **Nōn sunt . . . vīrēs**: this states a defect in old age for the purpose of showing that it does not necessarily render it unhappy. Some editors read *ne sint.*

ā senectūte: *from old men;* the abstract for the concrete as in the preceding sentence.

lēgibus et īnstitūtīs: *by law and custom.*

nōn modo: for *non modo non;* the second *non* is usually omitted before *sed ne . . . quidem* when the verb of the second clause belongs also to the first. **656, 3** (**552, 2**); M. 467; A. 149, *e*; G. 482, 5, 1; B. 343, 2, *a*; L. 1682.

quod: adverbial accusative. For this construction, *cogi aliquid*, see Harpers' Lat. Lex. s.v. *cogo*, II. B, 1; cf. also Verg. *Aen.* III. 56: —

Quid non mortalia pectora cogis?

35. At: see on VII. 21.

At id: the reply to *at multi.*

valētūdinis: *valetudo* means simply *state of health;* whether good or bad will be determined by the context.

is: in apposition with *filius.*

valētūdine: see on *capite operto*, X. 34.

alterum: *second* only to his father.

illud: it stands for *ille*, but agrees with *lumen* in gender.

paternam . . . animī: the son had inherited the father's *greatness of soul.*

Resistendum: emphasized by its position.

vitia: *deficiencies.*

dīligentiā: about equivalent to *diligenti cura valetudinis*, as shown by the following sentence.

36. ūtendum exercitātiōnibus: for the construction, see **623, 1** (**544, 2**, N. **5**); M. 296; A. 294, *c*; G. 427, 4; B. 339, 4; L. 2244.

tantum: *only so much.*

nōn: note the asyndeton; we would expect *et* or *sed non.*

mentī atque animō: *the intellect and soul.*

haec: neuter plural, referring to *menti atque animo.* See **398, 1** (**445, 3**, N. **1**); M. 182, 3; A. 187, *b*: 195; G. 286, 1; B. 250, 2; L. 1803.

lūminī oleum: *instilles* admits the dative and accusative.

īnstillēs: for the mood, see on *exerceas*, VII. 21.

quōs ait: sc. *esse.*

cōmicōs . . . senēs: *the stupid old men in the play.* The quotation is given more fully in *De Am.* XXVI. 99.

hōs sīgnificat: *by these he means.* *significat*, after the analogy of verbs of naming, admits two accusatives; cf. *salutare*, VII. 21.

dissolūtōs: *careless, broken down.*

quae vitia sunt: *faults which belong.* For this use of the relative, cf. *quem magistratum*, IV. 10.

dēlīrātiō: *dotage.* For its derivation, see Harpers' Lat. Lex. s.v.

37. rōbustōs: *sturdy.*

tantās clientēlās: *so many dependents.*

et caecus et senex: note the emphatic position and the concessive force.

in suōs: *over his household.*

metuēbant, verēbantur: the distinction in the meaning of these verbs may be gathered from the subjects, *servi*, *liberi*. Cf. the English *revere*.

vigēbat . . . disciplīna: the reading is doubtful. Reid has *v. i. illo animus patrius et d.*; Sommerbrodt, *v. i. illa domo patrii moris d.*; still other readings are given. *patrius*, *of our fathers*.

38. Ita: restrictive, equivalent to *ea lege*, *on this condition.*

ēmancipāta est: primarily a legal expression. *emancipo* meant strictly to put a son out of the hand and power of the father. This was accomplished at first by three fictitious sales; in later times by a simple declaration before the proper magistrate. *emancipo* was also used in a wider sense to denote the transfer of ownership in property from one person to another. Again, it was employed, apart from its legal significance, in the general sense of giving up, or surrendering something to another.

in manibus: see on VII. 22.

causārum . . . dēfendī: *of all the famous causes in which I have appeared as advocate.*

nunc . . . māximē: *at this very time.* The expression is elliptical; see Harpers' Lat. Lex. s.v. *Cum*, G, 1, *b*.

cōnficiō: *compose*; he was preparing his speeches for publication.

exercendae . . . grātiā: the practice of the Pythagoreans was for moral discipline rather than for exercise of the memory, merely.

dēsīderō: *miss*; see on *egebat*, X. 31.

Adsum: *I aid my friends in court*; especially as an advocate.

frequēns: an adjective where the English idiom would require an adverb.

ūltrō: *of my own accord.* The senators might branch off into a discussion of almost any subject they chose when giving their opinion upon the question proposed by the presiding officer.

lectulus: *a couch.* The Romans usually reclined when engaged in literary labor of any kind.

vīventī: dative of reference. **425, 4 (384, 4, N. 3)**; M. 208; A. 235; G. 352; B. 188; L. 1205. Some editors take it as depending upon *obrepat*.

sēnsim sine sēnsū aetās senēscit: the alliteration (ss, s, ss, s, ss) corresponds to the gradual fading away of the life of an old man.—Sommerbrodt.

XII. **39. vituperātiō senectūtis**: *charge against old age.*

quod . . . dīcunt: the full construction would be, *quod, ut dicunt, careat* or *caret*. Some editors, however, regard this as an appositional clause, explanatory of *tertia vituperatio*, and translate, *the fact that they say.* For the two possible constructions, see Roby 1746 and 1701.

voluptātibus: *sensual pleasure.*

aetātis: for *senectutis.*

quae . . . est: *which was reported to me.*

cum . . . Q. Māximō: cf. IV. 10. *adulescens* is in apposition with the subject of *essem.*

capitāliōrem: *more deadly.*

ā nātūrā: see on *a qua*, II. 5.

cūius voluptātis: dependent upon *avidae.*

ad potiendum: sc. *voluptate.*

incitārentur: the mood is due to the indirect discourse. The tense conforms to that of *dicebat.*

40. Hinc: *from this source.*

impelleret: its object is *homines* understood. For the mood, see on *incitarentur*, above. The clause also characterizes *scelus* and *malum facinus.*

vērō: adds a still stronger statement.

flāgitium: *disgraceful deed; scelus* means *crime; facinus* was primarily a *deed*, then it came to be taken in a bad sense, *evil deed;* a crime against the gods is *nefas; libido* differs from these words in referring to the *desire*, rather than to the accomplished deed.

cumque: *and while.* The clause is a continuation of the *oratio obliqua.*

sīve . . . sīve: for the use of the disjunctives, *aut, sive, vel*, see **658, 1, 2** (**554**, II. **2, 3**); M. 465, 3, 4; A. 156, *c*; G. 492–497; B. 342; L. 1667–1675.

41. in . . . rēgnō: "where pleasure is king." — Shuckburgh.

quō: **568, 7** (**497**, II. **2**); M. 331; A. 317, *b*; G. 545, 2; B. 282, *a*; L. 1974.

tantā . . . māxima: *one excited by the greatest pleasure that could possibly be experienced.* For *tanta . . . quanta . . . maxima*, cf. *De Am.* XX. 74.

tam diū, dum: *so long as.* Cicero has the same expression in *Cat.* III. 7.

nihil agitāre mente . . . posset: *mens* is the intellect; *ratio* and *cogitatio* refer to intellectual processes. A person, under the supposed circumstances, would lose control of his mind; he could neither *reason* nor *reflect.*

siquidem: literally, *if indeed;* it is about equivalent to *since.*

māior . . . longīnquior: the comparative has the force of *too*, or *very.*

locūtum: sc. *esse;* predicate of *Archytam.*

42. Quōrsus hōc: see on V. 13.

ut intellegerētis: see on *Quia profecto*, V. 13. The imperfect is due to an implied *dicebam* or *dixi* upon which the clause *Quorsus hoc* depends.

efficeret: causal subjunctive; for the tense, see on *intellegeretis*, above.

ut ita dīcam: to soften the metaphor.

oculōs: a rare use of *oculus; acies* is the regular term in this sense.

commercium: *intercourse.*

Invītus: see on *frequens*, XI. 38.

fuisset: the mood is due to *eicerem.*

notandam: *branded.* The allusion is to the *nota censoria* affixed to the names of those who were to be degraded in rank; see Harpers' *Lat. Lex.* s.v. *nota*, II. B. 2.

in Galliā: this means that he served in Gaul during his consulship; see on *L. Flamininum*, p. 80.

ut secūrī ferīret: *to behead.*

essent: see on *fuisset* above.

damnātī . . . capitālis: *condemned to death.* Livy, XXXIX. 42, says the person killed was a Boian of high rank who had come with his family to ask the consul for protection.

quae: causal; equivalent to *cum ea, since it.*

imperī: opposed to *privato.* While serving as consul he represented the Roman people. The disgrace was double, affecting both the man himself and the nation.

XIII. 43. audīvī ex: observe *a senibus, a Thessalo,* and *ex eo*, below; the ablative with *de* may also be used.

sē porrō puerōs: *that they in turn when boys.*

esse quendam Athēnīs: *that there was a certain one at Athens;* the reference is to Epicurus; *esse* shows that he was living at the time Fabricius met Cineas.

quī sē . . . profitērētur: *i.e.* he was a philosopher by profession.

omnia quae facerēmus . . . referenda: *all we do ought to be judged according to the standard of pleasure. faceremus* takes its tense from *dicebant.* In English we would use the present.

optāre: *to express the wish.*

id: *id* may be regarded as the accusative of extent, or as a nominative, modifying the impersonal subject of *persuaderetur.* See Roby 1423.

Samnītibus: the dative depending upon the verb used impersonally in the passive.

quō: see on XII. 41.

Vīxerat . . . cum: *i.e.* Curius had been a contemporary and friend of Decius.

eundem: Decius.

Decī: in apposition with *eius.*

profectō: *assuredly.*

suā sponte: *for its own sake;* i.e. regardless of all external considerations.

optimus quisque: *all good men;* **515, 2** (**458, 1**); M. 460, 4; A. 93, *c*; G. 318, 2; B. 252, 5, *c*; L. 1939.

44. Quōrsus: cf. XII. 42.

Quia . . . quod: *quia* regularly introduces a fact; *quod* either a fact, or a statement.

Caret: see on *egebat*, X. 31.

exstrūctīs: *heaped up, loaded with food.*

vīnulentiā . . . crūditāte . . . īnsomniīs: *drunkenness, indigestion,* and *sleeplessness.*

Sed . . . est voluptātī: *but if some concession must be made to pleasure.*

quoniam: see on *quia* and *quod,* above.

dīvīnē: about equivalent to *praeclare, admirably.*

capiantur: the subjunctive because the reason is Plato's.

modicīs . . . convīviīs: *reasonable entertainments.*

prīmus: *was the first to;* for this use of the adjective, see **497, 3** (**442**); M. 424; A. 191; G. 325, 6; B. 241, 2; L. 1051.

cēreō fūnālī: the MSS. have *crebro* or *credo.* Mommsen, following Manutius, prefers *cereo*, and this reading has been adopted by a number of editors.

nūllō exemplō: *with no precedent.*

prīvātus: after the expiration of his term of office.

45. Sed . . . aliōs: sc. *commemoro.*

Ad mē . . . revertar: cf. X. 32.

Prīmum: instead of a corresponding *deinde* we find *quoque*, XIV. 46.

aetātis: "belonging to that time of life"; *aetas* has here the force of *iuventus.*

amīcōrum: to be taken with *coetu* and *sermonibus.*

convīvium: "a living together."

tum . . . tum: *sometimes . . . sometimes.*

compōtātiōnem: *συμπόσιον.*

concēnātiōnem: *σύνδειπνον.*

in eō genere: sc. *rerum.*

id: the physical part of the feast in distinction from the good-fellowship and intellectual enjoyment.

XIV. **46. tempestīvīs . . . convīviīs**: *early banquets.* The usual hour for dinner was the ninth, about three o'clock in summer, and two in winter. A *tempestivum convivium* began before the customary hour. These protracted banquets were often attended with over-indulgence in eating and drinking.

quoque: see on *primum*, XIII. 45.

quī . . . restant: *of whom very few survive.* For *qui pauci*, see **442, 2** (**397, 2**, N.); M. 225, N. 3; A. 216, *e*; G. 370, 2; B. 201, 1, *b*.

cum . . . aetāte: the abstract for the concrete; translate, *with men of your age.*

quae . . . auxit . . . sustulit: the indicative states the reason simply as a fact. Note the omission of a connective between the two clauses. For the sentiment, cf. Plato, *Rep.* I. 328, "I find that at my time of life, as the pleasures and delights of the body fade away, the love of discourse grows upon me."

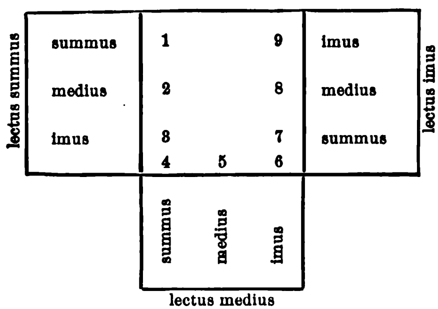
ista: with a tone of contempt.

nē . . . videar: for the omission of the principal clause on which the final depends, see **568, 4** (**499, 2**, N.); M. 332; A. 317, *c*; G. 545, 3, 3; B. 282, 4; L. 1962.

cūius . . . modus: this departs from the strict teaching of the Stoics. The force of the statement is softened by *fortasse*.

nōn . . . nē . . . quidem: *ne quidem* emphasizes the negation; **656, 2** (**553, 2**); A. 209, *a*, 1; G. 445; B. 347, 2; L. 1661.

ā summō: the following diagram shows the arrangement of the couches and the position of the guests. The cup passed from left to right, beginning *a summo*.



adhibētur in pōculō: *is carried on over the cups.*

minūta atque rōrantia: small cups from which the wine is merely sipped; literally, *from which it flows drop by drop.*

refrīgerātiō: some editors refer this to the cooling of the wine by artificial means; others, to the place where the banquet was held, a cool apartment, or a cool retreat. The second explanation seems to be the better one. It was common to have a dining room in the cool part of the house, for summer use; and another, exposed to the sun, and artificially heated, for occupation in winter.

quae: see on *Qui*, I. 3.

in Sabīnīs: sc. *agris*. Cato had a country estate at Tusculum, in the Sabine hills.

vīcīnōrum: in the genitive depending upon *compleo*, which, however, often takes the ablative. See **458, 2** (**410**, V. **1**); M. 231; A. 248, *c*, 2, R.; G. 383, 1; L. 1293; Draeger, Syntax, I. p. 558 (where this example is cited). Reid makes it depend upon *convivium*.

ad multam noctem: *till late at night*.

quam māximē possumus: emphatic expression.

47. At: see on VII. 21.

tanta . . . tītillātiō: *so keen a relish*. — Crowell. This is used for the Greek γαργαλισμός; *quasi* implies that the Latin term does not exactly translate the original; cf. Cic. *N. D.* I. 40, 113, *quibus quasi titillatio* (*Epicuri enim hoc verbum est*) *adhibetur sensibus*.

quod . . . dēsīderēs: for the mood, see **593, 1** (**507, 2**); A. 316; G. 593; B. 312, 2; L. 1812. For the force of the verb, see on *egebat*, X. 31.

Sophoclēs: sc. *dixit*.

Dī meliōra: *God forbid!* sc. *duint* (archaic for *dent*). The story is taken from Plato, *Rep*. I. 329.

istinc: referring to *rebus veneriis*.

agrestī: *wild*.

hōc nōn dēsīderāre: used as the subject of *esse*.

48. Quod sī: *but if*.

bona aetās: i.e. *adulescentia*, *youth*.

potītur: used instead of *fruitur*, for variety.

Turpiōne Ambiviō: the *cognomen* is often placed before the *nomen* when the *praenomen* is omitted.

in prīmā caveā: *the front seats*. The term *cavea* applied to the whole auditorium, which was semicircular in form, and provided with ascending tiers of seats. *Prima* or *ima*, *media*, and *summa* or *ultima* designated the three grades of seats occupied respectively by the highest, middle, and lowest classes of citizens. There were no permanent theaters in Cato's time. Cicero's language strictly applies to his own day, and not to the supposed time of the dialogue.

propter: an adverb, *close by*, *near at hand*.

tantum . . . est: to be taken with *delectatur*.

49. illa: *the following;* explained by *animum . . . vivere*.

ōtiōsā senectūte: free from public duties; devoted to study and self-improvement.

dēscrībere: the regular term for mathematical drawing.

oppressit: *surprised.*

50. acūtīs: *i.e.* those which require *acuteness* of intellect.

docuisset: the manager taught the play to the actors; translate, *had brought out on the stage.*

prōcessit aetāte : *lived on;* cf. *aetate processisset,* VII. 21.

loquar: deliberative subjunctive.

senēs: having the force of a temporal clause.

exercērī: reflexive in force.

comparandae: *can be compared.* The gerundive in a negative sentence, or in a question suggesting a negative answer, has the force of *possibility.*

illud: *that well-known.*

ante dīxī: in VIII. 26.

XV. **51. Habent . . . ratiōnem**: the subject refers to *agricolarum. habere rationem* is a commercial expression, *to have an account with.*

recūsat imperium: cf. Tac. *Germ.* 26, *sola terrae seges imperatur.*

plērumque: stands in place of a second *alias.*

Quamquam: see on I. 1.

vīs ac nātūra: hendiadys; *the natural force.*

Quae: see on *qui,* I. 3.

gremiō: note the omission of the preposition. The word is used figuratively, "in the lap of mother earth."

occaecātum: *hidden from the light.*

occātiō: *harrowing.* This is not connected with *occaecatum;* but comes from *occare,* root AC.

tepefactum: accusative; sc. *semen.*

vapōre: *heat.*

diffundit: *it causes the seed to expand.*

viriditātem: *a green shoot;* abstract for concrete.

fibrīs stirpium: *fibers of the roots.*

culmō . . . geniculātō: *on its jointed stalk.*

vāgīnīs: translate in the singular, *a sheath.*

quasi pūbēscēns: *as if maturing.*

spīcī: from *spicum;* limiting *ordine.*

52. commemorem: see on *loquar,* XIV. 50.

ut . . . nōscātis: there is an ellipsis of the governing clause, "I say this," *that.* See on *ne . . . videar,* XIV. 46.

omnium quae . . . ē terrā: the Latin has no one substantive which can be used in this comprehensive sense. — Meissner.

tantulō: note the force of the diminutive and the omission of its correlative term.

prōcreet: subjunctive of characteristic.

Malleolī: *mallet-shoots*, so called because of the form in which they were cut.

plantae: *slips*, cut from the main stock.

sarmenta: *vine-cuttings*, from the branches.

vīvirādīcēs: *quick-sets;* they had already taken root.

prōpāginēs: *layers;* branches bent to the ground and allowed to take root.

fertur: *sinks.*

eadem: this repeats the subject *vitis*, which is separated from its verb by the relative clause.

quam serpentem . . . errāticō: *serpentem* has about the force of a conditional clause, *and if it creeps along in its irregular, winding course.*

ars agricolārum: the abstract for the concrete; *the skillful husbandmen.*

nē . . . sarmentīs: *lest it run to wood.*

53. exsistit: *sprouts out, springs up.*

ea quae: they take their gender from *gemma.*

gemma: *eye, bud.* This is the original meaning of the word, and not jewel or precious stone. See Harpers' *Lat. Lex.* s.v.

nec . . . et: instead of *nec . . . nec.* Translate, *it neither lacks moderate warmth nor suffers from the intense heat of the sun.*

frūctū laetius: *richer in fruit.*

capitum iugātiō: *the joining of the tops,* i.e. the joining of the props by a cross-bar. Some editors think the tops of the vines were joined in the form of a yoke.

religātiō: this probably refers to the fastening of the vines to the trellis formed by the uprights and cross pieces. Reid thinks the allusion is to "the tying down of the shoots to make them take root."

prōpāgātiō vītium: *i.e.* the cultivation by layers, *propagines;* see on § 52.

immīssiō: opposed to *amputatio.* Some branches are cut off, others are left on the vine and allowed to grow. This seems to me more correct than "engrafting," the meaning given in Harpers' *Lat. Lex.* Stickney refers it to the intertwining of the branches in the trellis. Long refers it to putting the ends of some shoots in the ground to let them take root.

54. loquar: deliberative subjunctive, as in *proferam*, above. Cf. *commemorem*, § 52.

stercorandī: *of enriching the soil.*

in eō librō: entitled *De Re Rustica.*

doctus Hēsiodus: often used of poets, like the Greek σοφός; cf. Cic. *Tusc.* I. 1, 3, *cum apud Graecos antiquissimum sit e doctis genus poetarum.*

cum . . . scrīberet: a concessive clause.

fuit: for *vixit.*

lēnientem: denoting an attempted action; cf. *dividenti*, IV. 11.

arbustīs: *groves.* Vines were often trained on the trees.

rēs rūsticae: *country life.*

pōmāriīs: *orchards.*

omnium: *i.e.* of every kind.

XVI. 55. Possum: *I might.* For the indicative where the English would use the conditional construction, see **525, 1** (**476, 4**); M. 318, 2; A. 311, *c*; [G. 254, 1; B. 271, 1, *a*; L. 1495, *a*.

longiōra: *too long.*

prōvēctus sum: *I have been carried away.*

loquācior: the comparative has the force of *somewhat*, or *rather*.

nē . . . vitiīs videar vindicāre: cf. *ne . . . videar*, XIV. 46, and *ut . . . noscatis*, XV. 52. Notice the alliteration.

vitiīs: *defects, failings.*

Ergō: on account of the delights of rural life.

triumphāsset: the subjunctive here with *cum* may be translated participially, *after triumphing.*

Cūius: see on *qui*, I. 3.

ā mē: *from mine;* i.e. *from my country seat.*

56. cum: *when.*

Poteratne . . . senectūtem: *non potest non = necesse est*, therefore render, *Must not such a spirit, of necessity, make old age happy?* — Sommerbrodt.

Sed veniō: Cato returns to his subject proper.

in agrīs: *in the country.* Note its emphatic position.

senātōrēs . . . senēs: see on VI. 19, 20.

arantī: *while plowing;* emphatic by its position.

dictātōrem esse factum: as the dictator was appointed, not elected, we would expect the verb *dicere* instead of *facere.*

dictātōris: in apposition with *cuius.*

adpetentem: with the force of a causal clause.

occupātum: a perfect participle where the English idiom would take a verb. It may be translated *anticipated.* It is not, however, strictly coördinate in thought with *interemit*, but has in the Latin about the force of a temporal clause. Livy gives a somewhat different account of the event IV. 14. The act was in reality murder, and Ahala was afterwards placed on trial for his crime, but escaped punishment by voluntary exile.

viātōrēs: *travelers*, from *via*. They were employed by certain magistrates as messengers. Officers having both lictors and *viatores* used the former as personal attendants, the latter to summon the senate and to deliver other official messages. They were mostly freedmen, or of low birth. Smith's *Dict. Antiq.*

agrī cultiōne: a very rare expression for the customary *agri cultura*. For the other passages in which it is found, see Harpers' *Lat. Lex.* s.v. *cultio*.

haud sciō an nūlla . . . esse: *I am inclined to think none can be happier. haud scio an*, literally, *I know not whether*, often implies the probable truth of the following clause.

ad cultum . . . deōrum: referring to the fruits and victims offered in sacrifice.

ut . . . redeāmus: there is an ellipsis of the governing clause. See on *ne . . . videar*, XIV. 46. Observe also the similarity in sentiment in the two passages.

porcō . . . gallīnā: used collectively.

Iam: *moreover*.

succīdiam alteram: *a second flitch*, i.e. the garden was only second in importance and usefulness to the supply of salt meat, and was almost as convenient when food was needed.

Condītiōra: *the employment of spare time in fowling and hunting gives a keener relish to these things.*

57. praecīdam: sc. *sermonem*.

ūsū . . . ōrnātius: cf. *fructu laetius, aspectu pulchrius*, XV. 53.

ad quem frūendum: in early writers *fruor* was used with the accusative; for the construction in this instance, see on XI. 36.

nōn modo nōn retardat, vērum etiam: translate, *so far is old age from proving an obstacle that it even*, etc.

aut . . . vel . . . ve: see on *sive . . . sive*, XII. 40.

58. Sibi habeant: referring to young men.

clāvam: *the foil;* made of wood and used in sword exercises. Young soldiers, specially, practiced with it against a stake (*palus*) set in the ground to represent an adversary.

pilam: *the ball*. For a full account of the various games of ball in vogue among the Greeks and Romans, see Smith's *Dict. Antiq.* Vol. II. s.v. *pila*.

tālōs . . . et tesserās: *dice*. The *tali*, ἀστράγαλοι, were originally made of bone, afterwards of metal. They were oblong, rounded at the ends and marked on four sides, 1 and 6 opposite each other and 3 and 4. Four of these were used in playing. The *tesserae*, κύβοι, of which three were employed in a game, were like the modern dice. For a full account of these and their

use, see Becker's *Gallus*, p. 499 ff.; and Smith's *Dict. Antiq.* Vol. II., *talus* and *tessera*.

id ipsum ut: this is the reading of several MSS. and has been adopted by H. Allen, Long, and Reid. The more common reading *utrum* in place of *ut*, is more difficult to explain. Supply *faciant*, and translate *even in that they may do as they please.*

XVII. 59. quī . . . quī: note the two relative clauses. We might expect *quique* in the second.

tuendā: *management.*

ut intellegātis: cf. *ut . . . noscatis*, XV. 52.

rēgāle: *worthy of a king. regale=quod regem decet; regium=quod regis est.* — Meissner.

Sardīs: accusative plural, denoting the limit of motion.

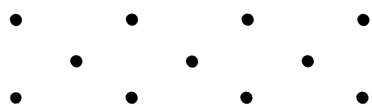
ā sociīs: the allies of Sparta in the war against Athens.

commūnem . . . hūmānum: *courteous and kind.*

cōnsaeptum agrum: *a park;* a translation of the Greek παράδεισον.

prōcēritātēs: note the plural of the abstract; the height of the different trees.

in quīncuncem: *quincunx=quinque-unciae*, five twelfths of a unit of weight or measure. It was used in reference to trees planted in the form of the five spots on dice, thus: —



See Harpers' *Lat. Lex.* s.v.

dīmēnsa: note its use in the passive, *measured off.*

dīscrīpta: *arranged.*

Atquī: *and yet.*

ego . . . meī . . . mea: emphatic.

purpuram: *purple robe.*

multō aurō: ablative of characteristic. The Persians were noted for their beautiful ornaments of gold, silver, and precious jewels.

60. impedit: sc. *nos.* The pronoun is regularly omitted when *quominus* with its clause follows.

perdūxisse: sc. *agri colendi studia.*

esset: equivalent to *viveret.* Its mood is due to its dependence upon *perduxisse.*

āctā iam aetāte: ablative absolute; *with his best years already past.* The more common expression is *exacta aetate.*

senectūtis initium: i.e. *aetas seniorum.* In the strict sense of the term, *senectus* began with the sixty-first year.

apex: used figuratively, *the crowning feature.* For its ordinary meaning, see Harpers' *Lat. Lex.* s.v. I.

61. **illud elogium**: *that well-known epitaph. elogium* is not equivalent to the English "eulogy," the idea of which is expressed in Latin by *laudatio.*

Hunc . . . virum: early inscriptions upon tombs and monuments were written in the old Saturnian measure. *populi* limits *virum,* not *gentes.*

carmen: *the inscription.*

cūius . . . esset: a causal clause in which *cuius* is equivalent to *cum eius.*

Quem virum nūper P. Crassum: *Crassum* is the subject of *esse* understood, and *quem virum* is the predicate accusative after it. *vidimus* governs two accusatives after the analogy of verbs of making, calling, and the like. *nuper* is used like *modo* in IX. 27.

praeditum: *invested with.*

ut . . . ante . . . Māximō: in IV. 10–12.

sententiā: a deliberate judgment expressed in the form of a set speech or vote.

honōrāta: equivalent to a conditional clause. It refers to one who has held public office.

XVIII. 62. in omnī ōrātiōne: *in my whole discourse.*

eam: "only that."

cōnstitūta sit: for the mood, see on *uteretur,* I. 2.

quae . . . dēfenderet: the verb takes its tense from *dixi,* rather than from *efficitur.*

extrēmōs: *at the close.* Influence is the final reward of old age.

63. **honōrābilia**: said to occur only here in good Latin.

salūtārī . . . cōnsulī: *that men should greet us, seek after us, give us precedence, rise in our presence, accompany us on the street, escort us home at the close of day, and ask us for advice. decedi* and *adsurgi* are used impersonally.

mōrāta: an adjective derived from *mos.* "In proportion as they are most highly civilized."

tantum tribuitur: *is so much respect paid.*

Quīn etiam: *nay more.*

lūdīs: *at the time of the games.* The allusion is to the great games, held every four years in the month of July, in honor of Athene, the patron goddess of Athens.

māgnō cōnsessū: ablative absolute; translate, *in the great assembly.*

certō in locō: seats were reserved in the theater for ambassadors and men of distinction. For the custom, see Greek Lex. s.v. *προεδρία, the front seat at the theater.*

sessum: **633** (**546, 1**); M. 301; A. 302; G. 435; B. 340; L. 2270.

64. multiplex: *repeated.*

dīxisse . . . quendam: depending upon *proditum est*, above. The indirect discourse, which was interrupted at *qui*, is again resumed.

collēgiō: the college of augurs.

antecēdit: sc. *alios.*

sententiae prīncipātum: "the privilege of speaking or voting first."

honōre: *in official position.*

cum imperiō: this applies to consuls and praetors during their term of office.

comparandae: see on XIV. 50.

65. At: see on VII. 21.

quaerimus: sc. *verum.*

mōrum: *character.*

nōn illīus quidem iūstae: *not sufficient indeed. quidem* has a concessive force. For the use of the redundant pronoun *illius* with *quidem*, see **507, 5** (**450, 4**, N. **2**); A. 151, *e*: 195, *c*; G. 307, R. 4; L. 2361.

contemnī: *slighted.*

odiōsa: cf. II. 4.

offēnsiō: with passive force.

bonīs: to be taken with both *moribus* and *artibus.*

in vītā: *in real life.*

nātūra: *disposition.*

66. quid sibi velit: *what it means.*

quō . . . eō: *the . . . the.*

XIX. sollicitam habēre: *to keep in a constant state of anxiety.* The perfect participle with *habere* denotes the continued effect of the action of the verb. **431, 3** (**388, 1**, N.); M. 284; A. 292, *c*; G. 238; B. 337, 6; L. 1606.

aetātem: abstract for concrete.

esse longē: equivalent to *abesse longe.*

quī . . . vīderit: subjunctive of characteristic.

ubi sit futūrus: for the mood, see on *qui . . . viderit*, above.

atquī tertium . . . potest: the meaning is this, "Death ends all, and therefore is not to be feared, or is the gate to immortality, and is to be desired." The author thus limits the future state to endless sleep, or eternal happiness, and omits the third alternative, a state of punishment for the wicked.

67. Quid . . . timeam: deliberative subjunctive.

Quamquam: corrective, as in I. 1.

cui: the dative of reference, and equivalent to *ut ei*. Translate, *that he is sure.*

ad vesperum: "at eventide."

aetās illa: referring to *adulescens.*

quod: see on *qui*, I. 3.

melius et prūdentius: *i.e.* there would be more wise old men, and they would have more influence in leading the young to live circumspectly.

Mēns . . . ratiō : cf. *nihil agitare mente*, XII. 41.

quī . . . nūllī: see on *qui pauci*, XIV. 46.

nūllae . . . fuissent: cf. VI. 20.

Sed redeō: cf. X. 32.

cum . . . cum: cf. II. 4, for a similar use of the conjunction and preposition in close proximity.

68. in optimō fīliō: cf. VI. 15.

tū: sc. *sensisti.*

exspectātīs . . . dignitātem: *who were expected to attain the highest honors of the state.* See Harpers' *Lat. Lex.* s.v. *exspecto*, II. B.

At: cf. VII. 21.

idem: to be taken with *quod.*

At . . . At: cf. XI. 35.

eō: *so much.*

ille . . . hīc: *ille* and *hic* depart from their usual meaning, *the former, the latter*, in order of mention. *ille* refers to *adulescens*, as more remote, and *hic* to *senex*, as nearer in thought to the speaker.

69. Quamquam: corrective, *and yet;* see on § 67.

aliquid extrēmum: so in II. 5.

efflūxit: cf. *effluxisset*, II. 4.

tantum: *only so much.*

quod . . . cōnsecūtus sīs: 552 (486, III.); M. 327; A. 311, *a*; G. 257, 3; B. 280; L. 1554.

et . . . et . . . et: note the polysyndeton. Cf. VI. 18, *et miles et tribunus*, etc.

quid sequātur: *what may follow*, i.e. what the future is to be.

70. modo: *provided.*

prōcesserit: *sapiens aetate* may be supplied. Some editors, however, understand *aetas* as the subject.

aestātem . . . vēnisse: the object of *dolent*. See **405, 1** (**371**, III. N. **1**); M. 187; A. 237, *b*; G. 330, R.; B. 175, 2, *b*; L. 1139, *b*.

tempora: *seasons*.

71. secundum nātūram: that it is man's duty to live in accordance with nature, was a fundamental principle in the Stoic philosophy. Cf. II. 5.

ēmorī: stronger than *mori*.

Quod idem contingit: *but this also happens*.

adversante . . . nātūrā: with the force of a concessive clause.

ut cum . . . ut cum: the *cum* is superfluous; omit it in translating.

quasi: *quasi* for *sicut* or *quemadmodum* is archaic. — Meissner.

quō propius: *the nearer*. [G. 629; B. 324; L. 1728.

accēdam: the subjunctive; see **652, 1** (**529**, II. N. **1, 1**); M. 405; A. 342;

XX. 72. quoad . . . possit: *so far as one* (i.e. *senex*) *may be able*.

mūnus officī: this expression is found also in IX. 29. It refers to one's professional or business duties.

mortemque contemnere: regarded by some editors as a gloss.

animōsior . . . fortior: *animosus* means *courageous, spirited, not cast down; fortis* is said of one *brave* in the immediate presence of danger.

Hōc illud est: *this is the meaning of the answer which*, etc.

tandem: *pray*, it adds emphasis to the question.

audāciter: archaic and rare for *audacter*.

integrā: *unimpaired*.

certīs: *to be depended upon, trustworthy*. The ablative absolute in each of these expressions has the force of a temporal clause.

ipsa suum eadem quae: note the grouping of pronouns.

coāgmentāvit . . . conglūtināvit: Tischer calls attention to Cicero's fondness for these metaphors, and gives examples of their use; see also Harpers' *Lat. Lex.*

Iam: *besides*. It introduces another point in the argument.

reliquum: note the adjective used as a substantive, with adjective and genitive modifiers.

73. Volt . . . suīs: *he wishes, I suppose, to be thought dear to his friends*.

haud sciō an: see on XVI. 56.

Ennius: sc. *dixerit*.

Faxit: **244, 4** (**240, 4**); M. 101, 3; A. 128, *e*, 3: 142; G. 131, 4, *b*, 2; L. 887.

74. Iam: see on § 72.

isque: "but only."

sēnsus aut optandus . . . est: cf. this with *quae aut plane neglegenda . . . optanda*, XIX. 66.

meditātum: used passively. Cf. *adeptam*, II. 4; and *dimensa*, XVII. 59.

ab: *from*, not "by"; *from youth up.*

incertum an: "perhaps."

timēns: the participle has the force of a conditional clause.

quī: equivalent to *quo modo;* see on II. 4.

animō cōnsistere: *to be of firm mind.*

75. nōn ita longā: *not very long.*

indoctī . . . rūsticī: *i.e.* without training in philosophy and without the culture that easily comes to men enjoying the advantages of city life. The legions were largely recruited from the *rustici.*

76. Omnīnō: *on the whole*, i.e. to sum the matter up briefly.

nē . . . quidem: *neither;* less emphatic than the usual *not even.*

XXI. 77. quod: *because.* Some editors regard *quod* as a relative.

cernere: *i.e.* to see clearly with the mental vision; it is stronger than *videre.*

quō ab eā propius absum: *the nearer I am to it.* Note the difference between the Latin and English forms of expression. The Latin emphasizes the fact of separation, even though the objects are very near each other.

vīvere: *are living.*

contrārium: *uncongenial.*

quī terrās tuērentur: *to care for the world.*

caelestium: *of the heavenly bodies.*

modō . . . cōnstantiā: *moderation and regularity.*

ut ita crēderem: *to this belief.*

78. ūniversā mente dīvīnā: *the world-soul.*

dēlībātōs: *derived from.* The soul of each man was a portion of the great world-soul.

habērēmus: it takes its tense from *audiebam.* In a general truth like this the English would employ the present.

quae Sōcratēs . . . disseruisset: for the mood, see **649**, I. (**528**, **1**); M. 392; A. 341, *c*; G. 628; B. 323; L. 1725.

Sīc: explained by the following statements.

memoria . . . prūdentia: observe the chiasmus; *prudentia* (*providentia*), *foresight.*

tantae scientiae: bracketed by some editors; by some taken in the genitive, limiting *artes;* by others, as nominative plural. *scientia* is rarely used in the plural, but may possibly be here because of *artes* and *inventa.* Render, *so many branches of knowledge.*

nātūram: *being.*

nē . . . quidem: see on XX. 76.

esset . . . habēret . . . posset: note the change from the present to the imperfect. Various explanations have been suggested; none of them very satisfactory. Sommerbrodt thinks such changes occur more frequently when reference is made to authors who lived in the past, but whose writings belong to the present.

māgnō . . . argūmentō: *strong proof;* predicate dative.

esse: its subject is the clause, *quod iam pueri . . . recordari.*

reminīscī . . . recordārī: note the distinction in meaning; the first refers to a momentary, the second, to a continued act.

Haec Platōnis ferē: *these are in brief the arguments of Plato.*

XXII. **79. Nōlīte arbitrārī**: for the forms of prohibition, see **561** (**489**); M. 321, 4; A. 269, *a*; G. 271, 2; B. 276, *c*; L. 1581–1586.

nusquam . . . fore: the Greek is ὡς οὐδέν εἰμι ἐγὼ ἔτι.

dum eram vōbīscum: *so long as I was with you.* Note the imperfect with *dum* instead of the usual present.

80. dum . . . essent: the subjunctive is due to the indirect discourse.

cum excessissent: note the adversative asyndeton.

ēmorī: see on XIX. 71.

īnsipientem: *unconscious;* Greek ἄφρων.

sed: *mihi persuasum est* is to be understood from *mihi . . . persuaderi . . . potuit,* above. Without supplying the ellipsis, it may be translated, *but rather that.*

integer: *undefiled,* i.e. free from contamination with the body.

sapientem: *truly conscious.*

cēterārum rērum: depending upon *quaeque.* On the proleptic use of *ceterarum,* see I. 3.

Iam vērō: see on *iam,* XVI. 56; *vero* adds emphasis.

81. Atquī: *and yet;* see on II. 6.

futūrī sint: *they are destined to be.*

est interitūrus: for the force of the periphrastic form, see *futuri sint,* above.

hanc . . . pulchritūdinem: *this beautiful universe.*

tuentur: cf. XXI. 77.

servābitis: for the future indicative instead of the imperative, see **560, 4,** N. (**487, 4**); A. 269, *f*; G. 272, 1, *b*; L. 1624.

XXIII. **82. patrem . . . Paulum**: cf. VI. 15.

duōs avōs . . . patruum: cf. IX. 29.

multōs: sc. *alios.*

esse cōnātōs: instead of *conaturos fuisse;* cf. *susceptūrum fuisse*, below. In the direct discourse, two constructions are admissible,— *non conati essent nisi crevissent*, and the less common *non conabantur nisi cernerent.* The indirect *esse conatos* corresponds to the direct *conabantur.* **647, 3** (**527,** III. N. **2, 1**); A. 337, *b*, 2: 308, *b*; G. 659, N.: 254, 3; L. 2332.

pertinēre: cf. VII. 24.

An cēnsēs: cf. *An eis*, VI. 15.

aliquid: cognate accusative with *glorier;* cf. *idem*, X. 32.

susceptūrum fuisse: see on *esse conatos*, above.

aetātem: equivalent to *vitam.*

nēsciō quō modō: *in some way.*

quasi . . . vīctūrus esset: cf. this sentiment with *vivere arbitror . . . nominanda*, XXI. 77.

excessisset: attracted into the subjunctive by *victurus esset.*

ut animī . . . essent: for this result clause in apposition with *quod* (= *et id*), see **571, 4** (**501,** III.); A. 332, *f*; G. 553, 4; L. 1968.

83. Quid: see on VIII. 26.

quī . . . cernat . . . cūius . . . sit: for the mood, see on *uteretur*, I. 2.

ad meliōra: *to a better life.*

Equidem efferor: *for my own part I am carried away.*

patrēs vestrōs: cf. § 82.

Quō: equivalent to *ad quos.*

retrāxerit: potential subjunctive.

sī . . . largiātur: note the present in a condition, really impossible, but regarded as possible, for the sake of the argument.

ut . . . repuerāscam: the object of *largiatur.*

quasi dēcursō spatiō: cf. *spatio supremo*, V. 14.

84. Sed habeat sānē: sc. *aliquid commodi;* concessive subjunctive, but the concessive particle is omitted.

et eī doctī: *and that, too, philosophers.* Cf. *doctus*, XV. 54.

quod contrā: *whereas on the contrary.*— Reid.

meum: sc. *cremari.*

quō: equivalent to *ad quae;* cf. § 83.

nōn quō: *not because.*

ferrem: **588**, II. **2** (**516**, II. **2**); M. 358; A. 341, R.; G. 541, 2; B. 286, 1, *b*; L. 1855.

85. dīxistī: in II. 4.

quī: causal; equivalent to *cum ego.*

minūtī: *petty.* He refers to the Epicureans, and thinks them of little account in comparison with Socrates and Plato.

nihil sentiam: *I shall be unconscious.*

quae dīcerem: a final clause; see Roby, II. 1632.

VARIATIONS FROM THE TEXT OF MÜLLER.

I.	2 satis digne	Müller,	digne satis.
II.	4 adeptam	"	adepti.
II.	5 descriptae	"	discriptae.
IV.	10 plusque	"	postque.
V.	14 suasissem. Annos	"	suasi. Sed annos.
VI.	18 modo; Karthagini male	"	modo Karthagini . . . cui male.
VI.	20 percontantibus in . . . Ludo respondentur	"	percontantur † ut est in . . . Ludo;
IX.	28 composita	"	compta.
XI.	35 morbum	"	morborum vim.
XIV.	49 Videbamus	"	†Mori videbamus.
XVI.	56 quam dixi	"	de qua dixi.
XVI.	58 ipsum ut lubebit	"	ipsum utrum lubebit.
XVII.	59 communem	"	comen.
XVIII.	64 nostro	"	vestro.
XIX.	68 quoniam	"	quod.
XIX.	70 sapientibus	"	sapienti.
XXIII.	82 ullo labore et	"	ullo aut labore aut.
XXIII.	85 defatigationem	"	defectionem.

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